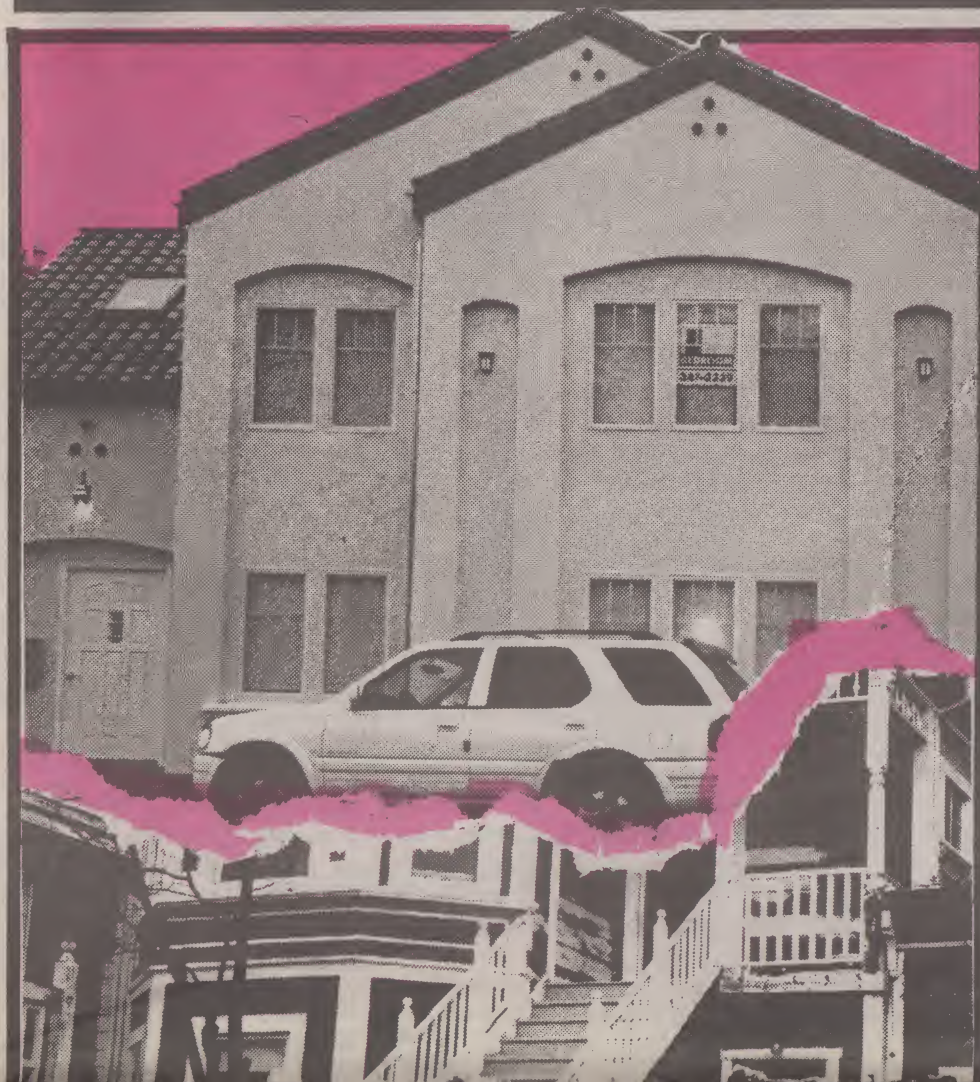
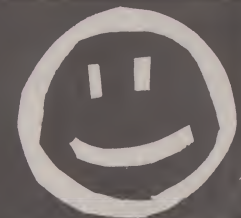


SLINGSHOT



Disruption with a Smile



Enough governments & terrorists! Its time for a 3rd option

By PB Floyd

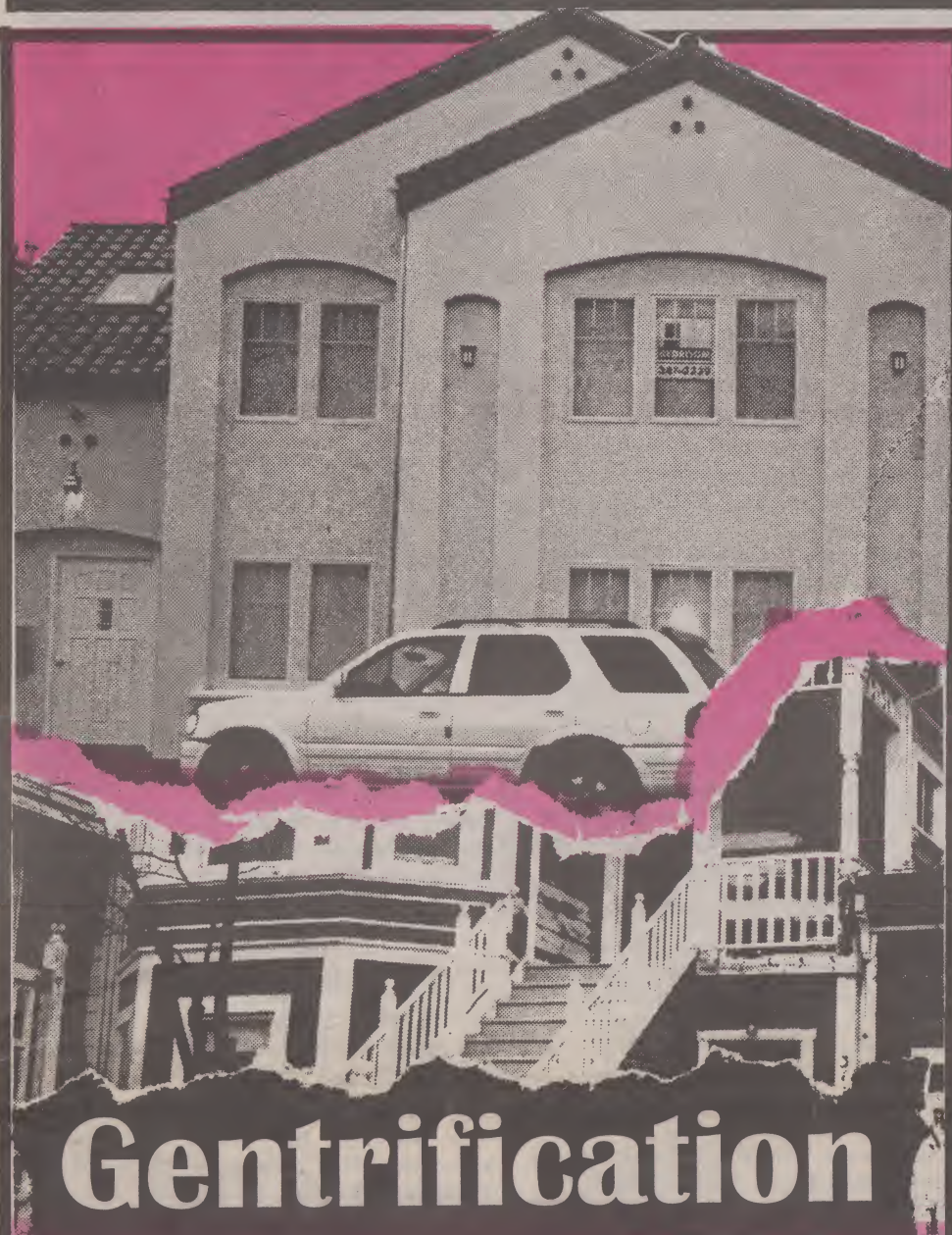
Amidst the cold winds that have blown since 9-11, the possibility of militant resistance to the global corporate machine seems, at first glance, to be decreasing. The government and the media have seized on the terror created by the September 11 attacks to superficially unify the majority of the US population around a program of more government control and surveillance at home and military intervention abroad. The implication is that the new so-called unity should extend to unquestioned support for all government policies, as well as the corporate economic status quo. Government officials, like attorney general Ashcroft, have come right out and said that anyone who disagrees with the government's new programs is "aiding and abetting" the terrorists. Its easy to imagine what would happen should a black bloc of anarchists attack a Starbucks or McDonalds with hammers, barricading the street with burning dumpsters. They would get, very

would have been major news before 9-11, but barely warrant a short article in the newspaper now that everyone's attention is focused on the 3 "A"s: anthrax, Afghanistan and airport security. In just a few months, Bush opened a trillion dollars of new military spending by canceling the ABM treaty. He obtained fast track trade authority to extend NAFTA to the entire American hemisphere,

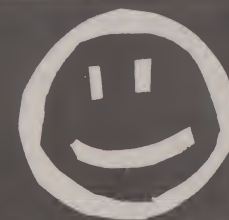
What the Taliban, Al Qaeda, the Bush Administration, the WTO and a long list of others have in common is their belief that they should be able to control the lives of others

north and south. The forestland road building moratorium was ended. Wilderness areas were opened to gas drilling. Millions have been laid off. Its hard to even figure out all the things that happened as the nation stood paralyzed with terror.

All of this with hardly a peep from . . . anyone. While right after September 11 it was extremely encouraging to see lots of



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economic status quo. Government officials, like attorney general Ashcroft, have come right out and said that anyone who disagrees with the government's new programs is "aiding and abetting" the terrorists. Its easy to imagine what would happen should a black bloc of anarchists attack a Starbucks or McDonalds with hammers, barricading the street with burning dumpsters. They would get, very literally, smashed by the cops, by the media, in the Courts, possibly even by enraged, "unified", flag waving regular citizens.

Meanwhile, while direct action options to resist corporate control seem limited, the need for such resistance is, if anything, much *greater* than it was before 9-11. The four months since the attack on the World Trade Center have seen a broad, comprehensive, some might even say historic series of authoritarian take-backs both in the USA and internationally. Generally, the bombing of Afghanistan and the new security measures in airports and against immigrants are the *least* of the matter.

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All of this with hardly a peep from . . . anyone. While right after September 11 it was extremely encouraging to see lots of people mobilize to oppose the coming war, resist crackdowns on civil rights and privacy, and seek solidarity with the Arab and Muslim communities who were under racist attack, it now feels like a lot of these initial positive reactions to the 9-11 crisis have faded. At least around here, there's hardly been an anti-war march over the past two months. And as necessary as these efforts to address the 9-11 crisis are, they're all tied up with our *reaction* to power's initiatives. These mobilizations are *reactive*, not *proactive*. The momentum coming off Seattle where thousands of people started to *set the agenda* by rejecting the corporate, capitalist, industrial vision for the future, and instead

Gentrification

Can freak bohemians avoid becoming pawns in the capitalist ethnic cleansing game?

By Xtra Nerdcore

For five years most of my neighbors have been different than myself. I am white and from a middle class family; my neighbors have been latino or black and often working class. I am one small piece of the gentrification puzzle, one of the group of

and displacement without a working analysis of race privilege. A race-based analysis of gentrification is not a clever way to make the racist assertion that white people make a neighborhood 'better' because they are white, thus implying that white people are better than people of color. That's bullshit

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For five years most of my neighbors have been different than myself. I am white and from a middle class family; my neighbors have been latino or black and often working class. I am one small piece of the gentrification puzzle, one of the group of people the real estate analyzers call "risk oblivious", willing to live in an area with little capital invested in it and high crime rates, eventually making the area palatable for other generally white people with higher incomes.

Gentrification happens when a neighborhood becomes attractive to a wealthier class of people than the group of people currently living in the area. Current residents get displaced as landlords jack up rents to milk the wealthier class and developers build with only the newer, wealthier class in mind. The newer, generally white residents, who have more political power, eventually grow intolerant of the old neighborhood culture, often a code word for the poorer, often non-white people who originally lived in the area.

While nobody should have to live in a neighborhood riddled with street drugs and crime, making a neighborhood 'safe' usually involves making it unsafe for certain classes of people, who are forced out to other low-rent neighborhoods, to shelters, or to prison. The version of 'safety' used by city government often involves cultural fascism: criminalizing 'loud music' and certain types of street congregating because they are supposedly associated with street drug trade. The key is figuring out how to protect mixed neighborhoods that are safe, fun, and sustaining for all kinds of people including the original residents.

Because our culture is based on race as well as class privilege, gentrification often goes down along race as well as class lines. It is hard to imagine stopping gentrification

and displacement without a working analysis of race privilege. A race-based analysis of gentrification is not a clever way to make the racist assertion that white people make a neighborhood 'better' because they are white, thus implying that white people are better than people of color. That's bullshit. The same privilege grid that lets white shoplifters skip past security guards and tracks white kids into the 'smart' classes follows white people when they move into not-white neighborhoods. The lecherous relationship between the (mostly) white counterculture and the (mostly) white hipster culture means that, when poor white counterculture people move into a neighborhood where rent is low, developers and landlords see hipsters with more money looming in the background and thus see a reason to invest in the neighborhood and raise rents.

For white people, a race based analysis should not be confused with a white guilt complex. White guilt is a luxurious excuse to do nothing because you assume that white people are "the problem" and therefore incapable of engaging in their own positive social action around race issues. Although whites act in the context of a twisted system of race privilege, they can take initiative and responsibility for their own actions and they way they, too, get used as pawns within a racist system. It is irresponsible to sidestep an analysis of race privilege because your politics are centered on an anarchic or democratic ideal free of race and class divisions. Actively dealing with the complex, sick reality of both race and class privilege is hard but essential in revolutionary work.

Like many people in the mainly-white activist community I'm part of, I am not entirely sure how to deal with my implicit role in gentrification. More than mere

Continued on page 10

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The real authoritarian expansion lies in the many consolidations of capitalist power that

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Continued on page 14

A New Normalcy

Case study: Police exploit fears of 'the terrorist menace' to justify repression of domestic dissent

by Greg Wells

Riding the post 9-11 wave of mass hysteria, Congress enacted a sweeping new set of "anti-terrorism" laws October 26, 2001. According to President George W. Bush, the new legislation was intended to "strengthen the fight against terrorism while protecting the constitutional rights of all Americans". Bush then went on to state that "the overwhelming bipartisan support for the bill [a 98-1 vote in the Senate] stemmed from its respect for the civil liberties guaranteed by our constitution." In light of the federal round up of over 1000 Arab Americans, one can't help but wonder if President Bush has any idea what his beloved Constitution states.

In reality, the measures enacted with the passage of the Anti-Terrorism Act (ATA) only sanctioned common practices the Feds have been utilizing for decades. This is

especially apparent in the environmental hotbed of Portland, Oregon, where "the war against terrorism" has justified repression of domestic radicals for years before the September 11 attacks. The experience in Portland could be repeated nationwide given the new license enjoyed by the Feds to crackdown on domestic radicals under the guise of fighting the "war on terrorism."

Since as early as 1997, the Portland Police Department (PPD) has been working in close alliance with the FBI, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF), the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS), US Customs and the Drug Enforcement Administration amongst several other undisclosed agencies to combat the growing underground movement of the Earth and Animal Liberation Fronts (ELF & ALF). It

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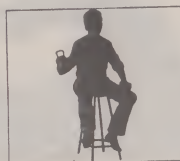
Communicate for Revolution



Glam Disco Punk

Dear Slingshot,

This is Sean "Goblin." Just read your "No War" issue#73. Generally it's good stuff (aside from the ancient clip art). The whole September 11th deal awoke or rather jelled the repressed @narchist in me...which i had basically given up on during my burning out on punk rock years.... Anyhow, I've done a lot of thinking and soul searching since 1994 and i'm ready to have a go at the revolution again. While I don't subscribe to any particular philosophies, generally I lean on the Black Panther/Sun Ra, Crass/Discharge, MC5/Donovan, T-rex/Bohansson/Tolkien side of things...fantasy laden, esoteric/spiritual fueled Jazz Rock Funk Folk Metal Glam Disco Punk Biker deal. Anyhow, "Planning for Revolution Requires Communication" and that's what I'm doing. Even though I thot you cats were a bunch of P.C. squares when I was younger and less focused, I'm down with the plan, I'm devoted to freedom and putting us, the earth and the animals above systems and I'm in West Oakland. Also here's some of my new comix. Enjoy. Protest and Survive, Sean



Don't Discount Potential Allies

Dear Slingshot,

It's too bad that some elements within the anarchist community are defensive about dealing with racism, both in the larger world and within our smaller community. This defensiveness is well illustrated by Pirate Prentice's article "Planning For Revolution Requires Communication". Many of the suggestions Pirate makes are good ideas, but for some reason, and in contradiction to many of the other suggestions, s/he specifically advises against working with youth of color. S/he also recommends that we not deal with racism, sexism, homophobia and classism within "our"own groups, since we've all been raised with that stuff and it can be divisive. Well, as a white anti-racist lower class woman, I'll "divisive" myself right out of any group not willing to deal with this shit, and I suspect many other folks from historically oppressed groups feel the same way, which would explain why a majority of the people who hold long term places of influence and recognition within our local anarchist scene are straight white men.

We all need to work our asses off to stop the "War on Terrorism", but we all also need to work our asses off to stop capitalism and the state (I mean, for revolution). I can't imagine that the anarchist community will have much success in contributing to and participating in a broad based grass roots revolution if we insist on keeping ourselves in our self imposed ghetto, saying "other groups must organize themselves" and prioritizing work with groups like ALF, who are amazing and inspiring, no doubt, but not in the least revolutionary. Since the current war the United States is waging is very much grounded in

oppression. The point being that, yes we all share a culture steeped in racism, sexism, homophobia and classism and we all need to be aware of our behavior and language, but it doesn't help if we jump down the throat of a comrade if he doesn't use the approved language. Different people are going to have different levels of proficiency at P.C. talk, but we should be sure of what the intent of the person is before we spew anti-racist dogma at her to educate him in group think.

-zarfling

Friends in Paris!!!

Dear Slingshot

Hi! Passing through San Francisco on November 14, I came upon a demonstration against the war, and someone gave me a flyer signed Jason Justice, from *Slingshot*. It is very comforting for some of us, in Europe, to see that Americans say everything we think. Of course we are in the same ship, against the same kind of power, for the same human world.

With a group of friends, we write a paper in Paris, France, for and with the people of our neighborhood — very pluri-ethnic and pluri-cultural. Our goal is to let people express their opinions and their creativity. We feel we have made a small step in the right direction when people of different origins speak to each other without referring to a French intermediary, when someone from Mauritania writes a paper on modern slavery with a Bangladeshi, or a Pakistani's reflections on terrorism with an Italian, when a Muslim woman who has never left her home before, comes and gives us a poem. Our paper is also multilingual. We try to have people write in their native language, and we translate in French, with the author's help; for those who cannot understand. This is the reason why I was wondering if you would allow us to reprint one of



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ACT-UP

Dear Slingshot:

I'm really upset to see that you listed ACT-UP San Francisco as a contact in your organizers for 2002. This is a very right wing group with a gay twist. They work with right wing politicians to cut funding for AIDS drugs because they say HIV doesn't lead to aids. They put out a lot of half truths and often manipulate facts. They also beat up people for taking aids drugs. They claim they just use "aggressive in your face tactics." I seriously thought you people would know better. These people aren't anarchists, they're just conspiracy theorists.



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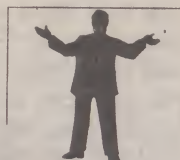
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-Joe Levasseur

Joe-we have already realized our mistake and they will certainly not be in next year's organizer. -Astrogirl



Jail Mail

Dear Slingshot:

Yet another year passes here in this Texas Gulag Hell Hole. Please note the above address and T.D.C.J. addition of two numeral slots on my prison number. We are in the millions now and still counting in State, Private, Federal prisons and jails. I have not moved physically, only in name. Thanks in these past years for your mailings to me of Slingshot. You are the only one left who mails out on a regular basis. It seems all the others either have failed in some way, most probably financial, to be able to produce their periodicals and have ceased to exist are just barely able to get by at their home base.

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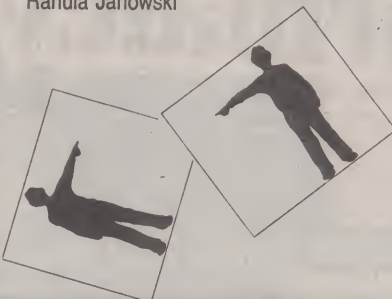
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Pirate suggests we "discover who our allies are." My allies are not only people who oppose this war, but who also oppose this entire messed up capitalist, patriarchal state, and I know for a fact that includes many youth of color.

These are hard times, and the work we have to do is hard. Discounting whole communities and potential allies will not stop the war and it will not help us down the road to positive revolution. Thanks for putting out the special '9-11' issue. Yours in struggle (with each other and the state),
Rahula Janowski



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Peacefully yours,

Dominique, from the "Voice of Cultures".



Sedated Revolutionaries?

Dear Slingshot:

I like the 2002 slingshot organizer I'm using — particularly the "how to live without a car" bit. I don't get, however, the illustrations you included on how to shoot up. I'm not a prude and I've been around but I don't see the sense in that. It doesn't fit. You're touting revolution when drugs — especially the kind you inject fuck with the very raw spirit that makes revolution happen. Drugs control the user, not the other way around. How is change supposed to happen when you're sedated? Plus, drugs are Corporate America — think what you like. The very machine that displays them as cool (movies, ads, music, etc.) is simply selling an image, never mind the consequences. That's not revolution, that's branding. Next year, leave the drugs out.

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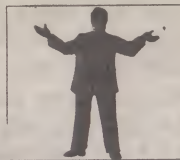
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All that I have to do is read, do crossword puzzles, or listen to the radio. TV nor recreation is an option in my case.

So, if you or anyone else you may know of who might be able to help in any way it would help immensely. These few things are the crux of my ability to be able to cope with and this ass load of time in any sort of way easier than T.D.C.J. would have do it.

Again thanks to all at Slingshot. Please put my poor old ass in the mail hopper for another year. One who love ya

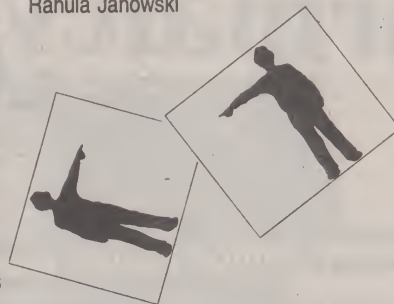
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one response: Don't spew dogma

Rahula,

I agree that discounting whole communities will not stop the war or bring revolution but, then again, neither will misreading Slingshot articles.

Saying other groups must organize themselves is only the truth; I as a white person cannot organize in the Black community, they would laugh me out of there. And that was the point of the article, that older white guys trying to push their agenda onto youth of color doesn't work. That doesn't mean one shouldn't work at all with folks of color, but one should do it as equals not as an organizer going into a community pushing an agenda that may not be wanted.

The article did not "recommend that we not deal with racism, sexism, homophobia and classism" in our own groups. The article said to "avoid the rhetoric and p.c. criticism", notice--avoid the rhetoric not avoid dealing with

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Lennie Bryan



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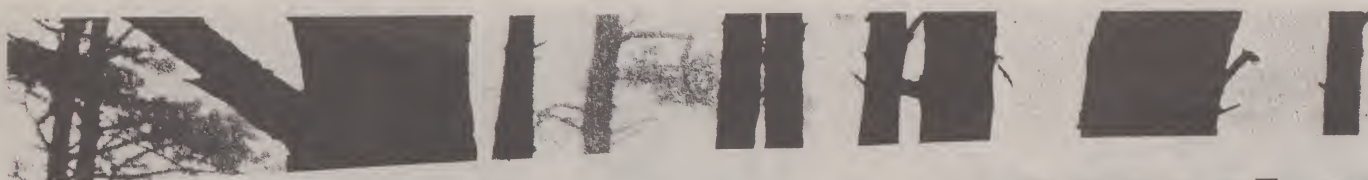
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Undermining Land and Workers Pacific Lumber Swings Their Aze Again

By Krispi Princess

Forest defenders in California's northwoods are preparing for a spring of direct action protests as they struggle to preserve the last scraps of the world's old growth redwood habitat — and they need your help. Keep your ears open for upcoming protests and campaigns, and keep your knapsack packed and ready to go! There will likely be protests against logging plans for residual old growth areas including Allen Creek if it gets approved, two more logging plans in Hole in the Headwaters (one section of forest in this area was already cut in the fall), and logging plans up for approval in the Mattole. Public action is also required around the Bureau of Land Management's draft Management Plan on the (publicly owned) Headwaters Preserve. Public hearings are expected in April.

Pacific Lumber (PL), the largest private owner of redwoods in the Northwoods, recently submitted a proposal to log in the Allen Creek Grove, one of the six old growth groves set aside under protective status for 50 years under the infamous Headwaters Deal. These groves comprise the Marbled Murrelet

(bird) Conservation Area, and are supposed to be protected under legally binding terms of the Deal, yet the company is poised to log mature second growth and residual old growth redwoods within the heart of this vitally important habitat.

PL is attempting to get around the agreement with the preposterous claim that their logging operation would "improve" Murrelet habitat. However, since these elusive seabirds rely on intact forest stands and are extremely susceptible to noise disturbances and predator species, their logging would have disastrous effects, resulting in reductions in canopy density and closure, increasing wind and weather impacts and increasing opportunities for predatory birds that predate on the Murrelet's eggs.

The contract between Pacific Lumber and the state of California for the release of the bucketloads of money paid them as part of the Headwaters Deal (\$480 million) clearly prohibits any kind of logging within the 13 Marbled Murrelet Conservation Areas for a period of 50 years. PL and the Calif. Dept. of Forestry are trying to ignore this fact and use their own creative interpretations of PL's

Habitat Conservation Plan to claim the logging could be allowed.

People are urged to contact the Calif. Dept. of Forestry (CDF) while the plan is still in comment period (no end date set; contact BACH for info) and tell them this logging plan, THP 1-01-352 HUM should be denied.


In addition, PL has plans in the hopper that would allow them to go into "occupied" Marbled Murrelet habitat (they have already logged 5000 acres of Murrelet habitat since the Headwaters Deal.) There was a lull before the storm after the 1999 Headwaters Deal that may have led some to think there would be a reduced level of logging in Humboldt county. There will be soon, as PL has about used up all the prime timber land under their ownership (see layoffs, below). But this lull was only due to plans being brought into compliance with the Deal's so-called Habitat Conservation Plan (HCP), and we are braced for a stormy spring.

In addition, cynically blaming not only environmentalists and state regulations, but claiming to be constrained by their own HCP, Pacific Lumber put 140 of its workers out of work in December. PL's overcutting, which



spiraled out of control with the takeover of the company by Maxxam Corporation in 1985, landed them where they are today, with a very depleted resource base but a wealthy parent company. (Charles Hurwitz, CEO of Maxxam, got an \$11 million bonus for the Headwaters Deal, which could go a long way toward helping the people living in a county in economic decline.) Operations will continue at PL's smaller Carlotta mill, but the Scotia mill is the visible PL icon on Highway 101, and central to Scotia, one of the last company towns in America. PL said those employees laid off must move out of their company-owned homes in 6 months.

For news about all of these upcoming actions, keep in touch with the Bay Area Coalition for Headwaters hotline (510) 835-6303, monthly meetings (2nd Tues. @ Rockridge Library) their listserve and website: www.HeadwaterPreserve. And keep your knapsack packed.



BY PB FLOYD

Don't Wave Your Finger at Us!

The Justification of Violence Against Liberation

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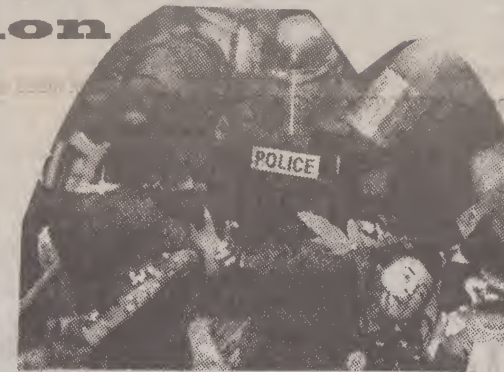
Beware! The groundwork is quickly being laid for use of the "War on Terrorism" against domestic political radicals, anarchists, and environmentalists. Will the term "terrorist" be used to suppress anyone who questions the corporate/industrial system, in a kind of "new-McCarthyism"?

The danger of being labeled a terrorist for engaging in domestic political activity is high because once labeled, there is no way to fight the label. Groups or individuals labeled terrorists may be subject to increasingly extreme and unpredictable forms of government repression.

The definition of terrorist activity is so broad and includes so many types of activities that virtually anyone opposing corporate or government action using tactics other than voting and letter-writing could be labeled a "terrorist." Federal law defines terrorism as "acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of criminal laws of the U.S. or any state; that appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population and to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion." The FBI defines terrorism as "the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce" the government or the

anarchist and radical environmentalist groups as terrorists who should be "incapacitated." *The New York Times* recently published an article on the dangers posed by rowdy anarchists to the Olympic games. In another article, the *Times* noted that anarchist-based anti-racists who had protested a Nazi gathering in Pennsylvania were more violent and dangerous than the Nazis they came to protest. And a recent preview article about the protests against the World Economic Forum featured photographs of black-clad anarchists trashing a McDonald's restaurant in Davos, Switzerland, and pictures of police and protesters clashing in Melbourne and Salzburg, Austria. All these articles, and many others found in papers across the country, appear designed to justify repression. Reclaim the Streets, a group that comes together to illustrate issues ranging from globalization to May Day by throwing street festivals and parties is also considered a terrorist group. *Is dancing terrorism?*

One of the most blatant war on terrorism based attacks on domestic dissent so far has been against the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the Earth Liberation Front (ELF). On October 31, Craig Rosenbraugh, the



Soon after scheduling the hearing on ecoterrorism, McInnis and other congressmen sent letters to a number of mainstream environmental groups asking them to condemn the ALF and the ELF. The letter stated "As our Nation begins the recovery and healing process following the tragedy of September 11, we believe it is critical for Americans of every background and political stripe to disavow terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. No matter its shape, source or motivation, Americans simply cannot tolerate, either overtly or through silence, the use of violence and terror as an instrument of promoting social and political change."

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Six days after the September 11 attacks, attorney general John Ashcroft announced the creation of anti-terrorism task forces in all federal district attorney offices across the country. His announcement appears to revive COINTELPRO tactics, although this time to disrupt and neutralize "terrorists" instead of "subversives." He noted: "Once substantial credible information is received indicating that individuals or groups in a particular district may be terrorists or abetting terrorism or aiding terrorism, the members of the anti-terrorism task force in conjunction with the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice will determine and implement the most effective strategy for incapacitating any terrorist activity on their part."

Since Ashcroft's announcement, numerous articles in the mainstream press have appeared to lay groundwork for labeling

article on the dangers posed by rowdy anarchists to the Olympic games. In another article, the *Times* noted that anarchist-based anti-racists who had protested a Nazi gathering in Pennsylvania were more violent and dangerous than the Nazis they came to protest. And a recent preview article about the protests against the World Economic Forum featured photographs of black-clad anarchists trashing a McDonald's restaurant in Davos, Switzerland, and pictures of police and protesters clashing in Melbourne and Salzburg, Austria. All these articles, and many others found in papers across the country, appear designed to justify repression. Reclaim the Streets, a group that comes together to illustrate issues ranging from globalization to May Day by throwing street festivals and parties is also considered a terrorist group. *Is dancing terrorism?*

One of the most blatant war on terrorism based attacks on domestic dissent so far has been against the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) and the Earth Liberation Front (ELF). On October 31, Craig Rosenbraugh, the former press spokesperson for the ELF, was subpoenaed to testify before a FEBRUARY 12 Congressional hearing on Ecoterrorism. Rosenbraugh has said he won't cooperate, and could be jailed indefinitely for refusing to respond to Congressional questions. The FBI has an on-going investigation against the ALF and the ELF (they were listed as terrorist groups before September 11) and it is unclear what might happen after the congressional hearing. "In probing the threat of terrorism, it only stands to reason that Congress should probe the threat of ecoterrorism as well," Representative Scott McInnis (R-Colorado) said.



Soon after scheduling the hearing on ecoterrorism, McInnis and other congressmen sent letters to a number of mainstream environmental groups asking them to condemn the ALF and the ELF. The letter stated "As our Nation begins the recovery and healing process following the tragedy of September 11, we believe it is critical for Americans of every background and political stripe to disavow terrorism in all its forms and manifestations. No matter its shape, source or motivation, Americans simply cannot tolerate, either overtly or through silence, the use of violence and terror as an instrument of promoting social and political change."

When it comes right down to it, the corporations and governments and industrialism and property are killing the earth and killing far more people than any terrorists' bombs. The kind of terrorism which seeks to butcher people at random so the terrorist can obtain *power* — the same kind of *power* wielded by the corporations and the governments the terrorist attacks — that kind of terrorism is not liberation, but just more of the same death and domination.

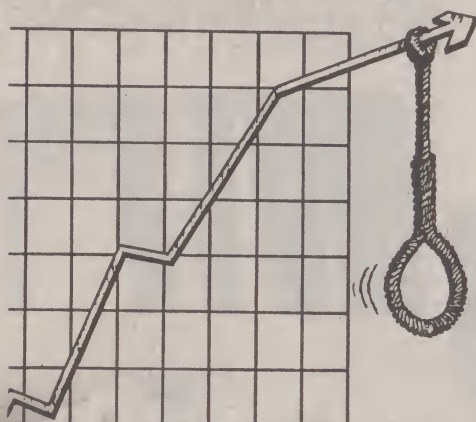
But the struggle for liberation from power is a *struggle* that requires disruption of the system it seeks to destroy. "Working within the system" only strengthens the system and cannot free us from the system. The struggle for liberation doesn't seek to kill people — it seeks to fight a system of power which dominates people. We must not permit those who seek to retain power to label our struggle for liberation as "terrorist" thereby justifying use of the system's violence against liberation.

Give Capitalism the Rope to Hang Itself

By Astrogirl

I was sitting and waiting for the train to come when something that had been stirring in my brain for nearly a year began to ferment once again. I wasn't thinking about this "something" at all. Unsurprisingly, I was daydreaming of Emma Goldman and imagining that I might at some point in my life come close to touching upon her sincerity. In *Living My Life* she tells of one of her first experiences speaking in front of people.

She had been strongly influenced by Johann Most and was speaking in Cleveland to a



animated group of workers. She gave them a "sarcastic arraignment" and prodded them to fight for more than temporary gains. It is then that an old worker rose to speak: "He said that he understood my impatience with such small demands as a few hours less a day, or a few dollars more a week. It was legitimate for

ideologically like myself, are the poor, uneducated and people of color, i.e. the same people who always lose under capitalism.

Should I organize demonstrations? Should I implement abortion workshops? Should I tour the poorest areas of every city and town with information? What would be effective?

I am not writing this to supply answers or information but to provoke thought in the hopes that the thought will provoke action, and that action a reaction. I have found that when I have a question it is best to ask it because questions either supply answers or deliberation. Both of which I consider productive. It is from these humble musings that I found myself scratching at the walls of the beast. Perhaps, this particular issue seems too liberal for some. Many, in my experience, see it the way Goldman originally did as she peered out over the crowd of haggard workers.

It is time that we begin to educate and organize everyone possible, from every angle. The system doesn't work and there is always a personal connection to that. For womyn, this is a good example. Let us tie every struggle together in a knot (also a good birth control method) and point at the big mess of capitalism.



New Infoshops Opening An Old One Moving

In the last few months several new infoshops have opened up around the land, and some have moved. If you're in their area, stop by and help support them. If you know of other openings let us know.

Flor y Canto opens in LA

Flor y Canto Centro Comunitario has a bookstore, internet hookup, a meeting space and a foosball table! They are a not-for-profit space seeking social change. They also have films, potlucks, study groups and other classes. Tuesday through Saturday 1-6 pm. 3706 N. Figueroa Ave. Los Angeles, CA 90065 www.florycanto.org mail@florycanto.org

Corner Books opens in Yellow Springs

Corner Books offers free alternative

Urbana-Champaign IMC & library

Urbana-Champaign Independent Media Center and Library collective will be celebrating their 1-year anniversary later this month. The library holds a growing number of materials in print, audio and video from alternative and/or small, independent publishers as well as independently produced zines, alternative journals and a media archive of work produced by IMC members. Open noon-9pm on Sun., Tues., and Sat., 4-9 all other days. 218 West Main Street in Urbana, IL 61801 (217) 344-8820. urbana.indymedia.org

urbana.indmedia.org/library

Brycc House Library Louisville

The Brycc House Library is part of the Brycc House, a collectively-run center with

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animated group of workers. She gave them a "sarcastic arraignment" and prodded them to fight for more than temporary gains. It is then that an old worker rose to speak: "He said that he understood my impatience with such small demands as a few hours less a day, or a few dollars more a week. It was legitimate for young people to take time lightly. But what were men of his age to do? They were not likely to see the ultimate overthrow of the capitalist system. Were they also to forgo the release of perhaps two hours a day from the hated work? That was all they could hope to see realized in their lifetime. Should they deny themselves even that small achievement? Should they never have a little more time for reading or being out in the open? Why not be fair to people chained to the block?"

This was a turning point for Emma that impressed upon her the need for independent thinking. For some reason this particular sentiment hit me when I was tossing around the current Roe vs. Wade situation in my malcontent brain. The thought of losing Roe vs. Wade with the impending implantation of one more demonic supreme court justice makes me grimace and choke back vomit. I do not believe in petitioning the state and this leads me to wonder what is the female anarchist role in the struggle to maintain control of our bodies? Those who will suffer from the overturning of Roe vs. Wade more than just

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graphic courtesy HAG

Information on herbal emmenagogues (stimulating menstruation) or herbal abortifacients (encouraging abortion) can be found at www.geocities.com/RainForest/Vines/2279/intropt.htm. Use all information critically and with caution.

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Corner Books opens in Yellow Springs

Corner Books offers free alternative literature, new and used books, and a weekly video showing. They are run by a collective of local Yellow Springs residents and Antioch College students. Hours are Saturday 12-5 and Sunday 1-5, and other hours as volunteer effort allows. 108A Dayton ST, Yellow Springs OH. email: CornerBooks@mail.com web: www.CornerBooks.org. Phone: 937-374-1552.

New Activist Resource Center in DC

The Gaea Foundation will soon open a public resource center for activism and arts (no name yet). It will have a library, internet access, a web portal, art display space and a video projector. It will be staffed by a trained reference librarian and will support study groups and present guest speakers. 1730 Connecticut Ave. NW, 2nd floor, Washington, DC 20036.

Boxcar Books open in Bloomington, IN

Boxcar Books opened February 1st They specialize in new and used books, zines, periodicals, graphic novels, and comics. There is a space for meetings and discussions and the Midwest Pages to Prisoners Project uses the back part of the space to fulfill 80-100 requests for books a week. They're open Mon-

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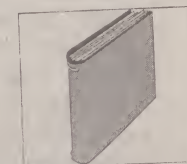
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Brycc House Library Louisville

The Brycc House Library is part of the Brycc House, a collectively-run center with a venue, computer lab, internet radio station, and art studio. The library takes zines and radical/independent books and literature. We are looking for more volunteer librarians. 1055 Bardstown Road, Louisville, KY 40204, (502) 456-1006 brycc@brycchouse.org <http://www.brycchouse.org>

Arise Resource center Minneapolis

Arise Resource Center and Bookstore is a collectively run infoshop offering meeting space, office space, and research facilities for the Twin Cities activist community and the community at large. Groups actively meeting currently are, ARA, NORML, Minnesotans for a United Ireland, Mumia Coalition, Women's Prison Book Project, and Free Radio. Our hours are 9am-8pm everyday. 2441 Lyndale Ave. S. Minneapolis, MN 55405



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Those BASTARDS Are At It Again

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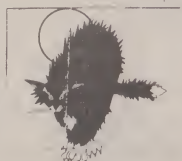


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Those BASTARDS Are At It Again Anarchist Conference In San Francisco

The second BASTARD (Berkeley Anarchist Students of Theory And Research & Development) anarchist conference will be happening at New College in San Francisco this year. This one-day event will be Sunday March 31, probably 10:00am - 6:00pm, the day after the San Francisco Anarchist Bookfair. There will be two panel discussions, one on race, the other to be announced. The panel on race will feature Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin. (He will also be at several other events around the Bay Area that week, look for



them). BASTARD is still looking for workshop proposals for the conference so if you are inclined to, send along a proposal. Facilitated discussions will get priority for longer workshop slots. Further details will be available when they become clear.

For the proposal form and more up to date details, go to www.bay-anarchists.org or send email to asg@onebox.com. Regular post to Anarchist Study Group c/o 3124 Shattuck Av. Berkeley, CA 94705 or you can call (510) 239-2239 x2662

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New Autonomous Zone in Chicago

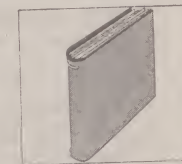
The Azone in Chicago has moved. The new space should be fully constructed by this printing and will include a full kitchen, computer lab, infoshop, library, bike shop and darkroom, and a basement for shows. Sounds cool! If you're in Chicago check it out. The new address is 2129 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60647 and the new phone # is (773) 460-0237. The mailing address remains the same; 1573 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60622.



radical/independent books and literature. We are looking for more volunteer librarians. 1055 Bardstown Road, Louisville, KY 40204, (502) 456-1006 brycc@brycchouse.org <http://www.brycchouse.org>.

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Black Oyster Infoshop: Williamsburg

Black Oyster Infoshop recently formed. Soon they will be offering a free and alternative forum for various events in Williamsburg, Virginia such as poetry readings, discussions, film presentations, and later, anarchist and other radical literature. They want to offer a free forum to air progressive issues and events, as well as attempt to build community solidarity with labor and other groups. For now they are more event oriented. 206 South Boundary Street Williamsburg, VA 23187

Internationalist Books & Community Center

They've been around as a bookstore for 21 years now, but just got 501(c)3 status last month. They carry new and used books and magazines and should have a lending library started within the month, and with hope, a computer resource center by summer (depending on grant moneys). Tues-Sat from 11-8, Sun 12-6 and Mon 2-8, with Food Not Bombs on Sundays at 3:30 and Earth First! meetings Tuesdays at 8pm. 405 W. Franklin St. Chapel Hill, NC 27516, (919) 942-1740, www.internationalistbooks.org

Activist

REPRESSION

BARI / vs. !USA

Pack the courtroom as Bari vs. USA, postponed after the September 11 disaster, finally goes to trial on April 8! Now more than 11 years after a car bomb exploded under Earth First! activist Judi Bari as she drove her car in Oakland, her civil rights lawsuit against the FBI and the Oakland Police Department is both more difficult and more essential in the current political climate. Although Judi didn't live to see trial (she died of cancer in 1997) her spirit is powerfully present in the final days of trial preparation.

The lawsuit alleges that the FBI and the Oakland Police Department framed Judi and Darryl Cherney (who was riding with her in the car) on charges that they car-bombed themselves. Instead of trying to find the real bomber, the FBI and the OPD tried to smear Judi and Darryl's reputation in an attempt to disrupt the 1990 Redwood Summer protests which aimed to preserve the ancient redwood

SANTA CRUZ 2 SENTENCED

Environmental activists Matt Whyte and Peter Schnell were sentenced January 28, 2002 at the close of a year-long trial. Arrested in January of 2001 in Capitola, CA (near Santa Cruz) in possession of components for incendiary devices, Matt and Petey accepted a plea bargain in federal court in October 2001, pleading guilty to one of two federal charges. Matt received ~~14~~ months and Petey, ~~24~~ months.

To reach them, or for more information on how you can help, email santacruztwo@hotmail.com or write: Santa Cruz Two Defense, PO Box 583, Eugene, OR 97440

ANIMAL RIGHTS ACTIVIST WITHIN CLAWS OF STATE!



Seattle animal rights activist Jonathan Batchelor has become yet another target for activist repression. While dumpster diving in Seattle in late November 2001, Jon was stopped by police and then arrested on two Virginia felony warrants for actions that allegedly took place during the Animal Rights 2001 conference in Fairfax, VA. He was extradited to Virginia in early January and is now being held without bail awaiting a trial March 6, 2002. He is desperately trying to raise legal fees and needs support. You can send contributions and support via Jonathan Batchelor, Seattle Mutual Aid Fund, PO Box 95416, Seattle WA, 98145-2616.

AND SUPPORT...

NEW ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS NETWORK FORMING

by sonya

A new network of Anarchist Black Cross groups, structured around anti-authoritarian principles and the original vision of prison abolition, is forming, and is seeking input from

must solely up to you, although you may want to link up to some activists and resources, work through ideas, learn together and help in others' campaigns. But regardless, how you

Latin America, Africa, Asia and the 'First World.' Obviously we could get into specifics of good and bad for each of these examples -- what we agree with, what we don't, etc. -- but

USA

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In the ten years the lawsuit has been pending, Judi and Darryl's lawyers have uncovered shocking evidence of FBI and police misconduct, while surviving numerous government motions to dismiss the case.

With trial approaching, community support



and public awareness of the lawsuit are crucial. During the trial, events that will include a

Environmental activists Matt Whyte and Peter Schnell were sentenced January 28, 2002 at the close of a year-long trial. Arrested in January of 2001 in Capitola, CA (near Santa Cruz) in possession of components for incendiary devices, Matt and Petey accepted a plea bargain in federal court in October 2001, pleading guilty to one of two federal charges. Matt received 14 months and Petey, 24 months.

To reach them, or for more information on how you can help, email santacruztwo@hotmail.com or write: Santa Cruz Two Defense, PO Box 583, Eugene, OR 97440



Batchelor has become yet another target for activist repression. While dumpster diving in Seattle in late November 2001, Jon was stopped by police and then arrested on two Virginia felony warrants for actions that allegedly took place during the Animal Rights 2001 conference in Fairfax, VA. He was extradited to Virginia in early January and is now being held without bail awaiting a trial March 6, 2002. He is desperately trying to raise legal fees and needs support. You can send contributions and support via Jonathan Batchelor, Seattle Mutual Aid Fund, PO Box 95616, Seattle WA, 98145-2616.

AND SUPPORT...

NEW ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS NETWORK FORMING

by sonya

A new network of Anarchist Black Cross groups, structured around anti-authoritarian principles and the original vision of prison abolition, is forming, and is seeking input from everyone.

In November, Austin ABC, Antiprison in Europe and a Houston organizing group presented "A New Draft Proposal for an Anarchist Black Cross Network." The new proposal was inspired by Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin's "A Draft Proposal for an Anarchist Black Cross Network," which he wrote in 1979 to take the anarchist anti-prison struggle toward concrete solutions. The new proposal suggests a new, decentralized, consensus-based coalition of grassroots collectives inspired by the ABC movement's original vision -- a vision that sees prisons and criminalization as tools to repression of the state, that sees the support of all prisoners as important, and that sees injecting anarchist viewpoints in the mix.

Over the last 15 years, the Anarchist Black Cross movement in North America has faced a number of troubles. Throughout the 1990's many ABC collectives disappeared, including Toronto ABC, Minneapolis ABC, Brew City (Milwaukee) ABC, Fourth World ABC, Nightcrawlers ABC and Wind Chill Factor/Chicago ABC. Along with that trend was the rise of the Anarchist Black Cross Federation, which since its inception has been

must solely up to you, although you may want to link up to some activists and resources, work through ideas, learn together and help in others' campaigns. But regardless, how you organize your group must still be up to your local conditions and membership.

"The ABC Network should do its work in a broad, nonsectarian manner. You should not have to be explicitly named an ABC group to join. Conformity to certain naming, uniform moral/"security" codes, focus, etc., all correctly criticized in previous work, cannot be part of a successful initiative. This is a fundamental difference between the proposed

We become targets as we pose a greater challenge to their 'way of life' and social control.

Network and previous initiatives -- having the involvement, input, comments, criticisms and efforts of local organizers, prisoners and groups is a necessity and privilege for an ABC Network to take shape. It is not a necessity or privilege for a network to form and communicate with activists... loose, unannounced networks are already happening. This is merely an effort to make it stronger and unite many around the ideas we're already struggling toward."

Latin America, Africa, Asia and the 'First World.' Obviously we could get into specifics of good and bad for each of these examples -- what we agree with, what we don't, etc. -- but the bottom line is that, in the endgame, we're no different from each other in the eyes of the state, and we become targets as we pose a greater challenge to their 'way of life' and social control.

"Ali Khalid Abdullah put the idea of solidarity (despite differences) in a very honest way in his piece on the Chattanooga Three: 'I would give my life to defend any comrade who is being denied justice. If I felt any other way then I am fooling all of you with my pretense of being an anarchist. Of being for complete and total revolutionary change for all people, not just for some people, or one group or segment of people. I fight injustice everywhere and anywhere I see it because if I don't that same injustice done to someone else will eventually be done to me. This is how we should be thinking and should feel about one another in the struggle for anarchist principles. But to leave one dangling and having to beg and scrounge to find the means to fight against the evils of oppression is flat out wrong and unjustifiable.' More clearly, and

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uncovered shocking evidence of FBI and police misconduct, while surviving numerous government motions to dismiss the case.

With trial approaching, community support



and public awareness of the lawsuit are crucial. During the trial, events that will include a summary of the week in court are scheduled for each Thursday (more info available closer to trial):

April 11: Ward Churchill, Native American activist and author, speaking on the history of the FBI's COINTELPRO operations.

April 18: The local Industrial Workers of the World will host Utah Phillips.

April 25: The War Against Activists program will include discussion of violence perpetrated against activists, with speakers, music, and film clips.

May 1: Celebrate May Day with Earth First! at Ashkenaz.

May 9: Copwatch will discuss problems with the Oakland Police Department, a defendant in the case.

May 16: Panel on the John Ashcroft attack on civil liberties.

May 24: The 12th anniversary of the attack on Judi Bari and Darryl Cheney. Watch for a major commemoration!!

Funds are needed for the legal team who are fighting the case. Send donations to Earth First!, 106 W. Standley, Ukiah, CA, 95482, (707) 468-1660, www.judibari.org

presented "A New Draft Proposal for an Anarchist Black Cross Network." The new proposal was inspired by Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin's "A Draft Proposal for an Anarchist Black Cross Network," which he wrote in 1979 to take the anarchist anti-prison struggle toward concrete solutions. The new proposal suggests a new, decentralized, consensus-based coalition of grassroots collectives inspired by the ABC movement's original vision -- a vision that sees prisons and criminalization as tools to repression of the state, that sees the support of all prisoners as important, and that sees injecting anarchist viewpoints in the mix.

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I may not be a vegan animal liberationist, an independista, etc., but I'll stand up with them any day against oppression.

trainings (via its Tactical Defense Caucus). ABCF itself had a split in 1995 over similar issues.

The new network seems to be a departure from ABCF's work in that its focus is geared at serving all prisoners, relating anti-prison politics back into the support work, and making a break from vanguardist mindsets of past efforts. Most notable in the proposal:

"There should be no 'party line' of the ABC Network. As anarchists, we believe in building a culture of resistance rather than legislating it. How you or your group conducts your effort

broad, nonsectarian manner. You should not have to be explicitly named an ABC group to join. Conformity to certain naming, uniform moral/"security" codes, focus, etc., all correctly criticized in previous work, cannot be part of a successful initiative. This is a fundamental difference between the proposed

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One of the proposal's organizers said they authors tried to involve a diversity of movements, acknowledging that, while there may be disagreements, the fight against incarceration was important.

"We made great efforts to reflect the good tendency of many anarchist anti-prison activists who work on a class-struggle basis, rather than a dogmatic one," wrote Ernesto Aguilar, a co-author of the new network proposal and a onetime ABCF organizer, recently. "It is essential that we legitimize, support, foster and celebrate the many facets of resistance -- from the struggles waged by the Black Liberation Army to eco-sabotage against the destroyers of the planet to civil disobedience against oppressive, sexist, racist, classist laws to women's resistance against oppression (among the most discredited and undervalued struggle today, primarily because it isn't regarded as "political" enough to the mainly male prison movement) to the idealistic youth facing batons and pepper spray for the first time in the name of animal liberation to the anti-colonial/independence/indigenous endeavors in

greater challenge to their 'way of life' and social control.

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Last year, ABC groups across Europe, where the prisoner support movement has remained strong, agreed at a meeting in Belgium to start to build a network on their own, and indications are that they'll connect to the new network. The forming network has set as its initial goals the growth and support of new ABC groups, getting feedback on its network proposal and eventually sponsoring an ABC meeting in North America in 2002. The last North American ABC gathering was in 1994.

To get a free copy of "A New Draft Proposal for an Anarchist Black Cross Network," you can go to www.anarchistblackcross.org on the Internet or send a self-addressed stamped (first-class) envelope to P.O. Box 667233, Houston, Texas 77266-7233.

Revolting Against the Tyrant



A History of Direct Action in Early AMERICA

By PiratePrentice

The people who make history are almost never in the history books. Anonymous people performing Direct Action have always been responsible for social change. All legislative reforms have been in response to Direct Action. Any legislative reforms have always been minimal, just enough to enable the elite to maintain their power.

Direct Actions leading to the American Constitution

The Constitution was never designed to preserve freedom. It only restricts the freedoms that the people had already achieved.

Corporate greed was responsible for the first English settlements in North America. Both the Jamestown and the Pilgrim colonies established charters or contracts with the Virginia and Plymouth Companies respectively, (groups of wealthy London merchants), before sailing for the New World. These charters limited all exports and imports to the English corporations as well as establishing the colonial governments. The Jamestown Charter was immediately challenged upon landing by the removal of Captain John Smith from the ruling council. The pilgrims revoked their charter altogether and replaced it with the famous 'Mayflower Compact'.

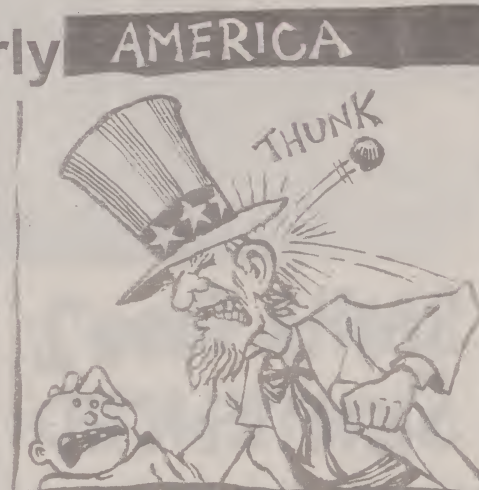
Likewise, North Carolina's colonists revolted against a constitution, written by John Locke which called for an establishment of a newly created hereditary nobility of Landgraves and Caciques who would rule the colony under a hereditary chief officer called a Palatine. The Palatine and his deputies were immediately seized and imprisoned upon their arrival in the colony. The colonists did eventually submit, but Locke's constitution was

against the upper classes.

In 1676, Nathaniel Bacon led a rebellion of frontiersmen, indentured servants, and black slaves, which burned Jamestown and forced the Royal Governor to scurry back to England. There were tenant farmer rebellions against the property owners in New Jersey in the 1740's and in the New York's Hudson valley during 1740's and 1760's. When threatened with eviction by the state of New York, Ethan Allen and his "Green Mountain Boys" led a rebellion that was responsible for the formation of Vermont. The "Regulator Movement" in North Carolina in the 1760's resulted in the death of over 2,000 men. However, it also led to the passage of land and tax reform legislation.

These rebellions were not confined to the farmers and frontiersmen. In 1636 indentured servants and fishermen mutinied in Maine. In 1663, Maryland faced strikes. In Boston during 1648 the shoemakers and coopers both organized guilds and in 1675 Boston ship carpenters issued a formal protest against conditions. There were labor strikes and stoppages New York City in 1677, 1684, 1741, and 1746. There was an ironworkers strike in 1774, a printers strike in 1778, and a sailors and ropemakers strike in 1779.

Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson redirected this emerging class anger from the wealthy merchants, planters and the British to the British exclusively. The founding fathers wanted a revolution to establish property and import/export rights and not human rights. Minimal improvements did occur after the revolution. Pennsylvania abolished property qualifications for voting and several other colonies lowered them. In several colonies, small tenant farmers were given portions of



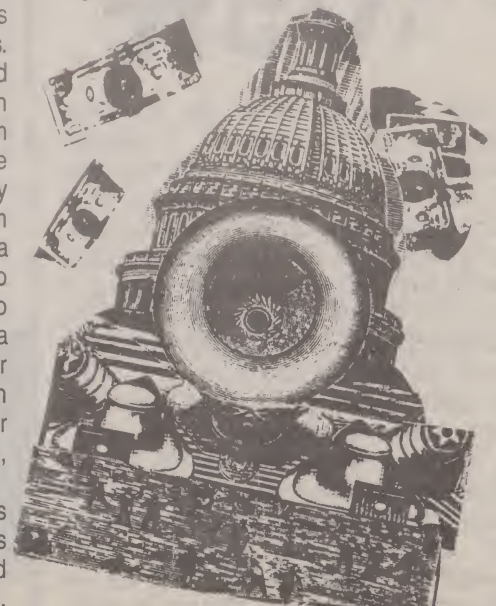
and its 'peculiar institution'. Slaves rebelled by minimizing production on the plantations.

Consequently, by 1860, the agricultural economies of many southern states, such as Virginia and the Carolinas, were in shambles. The only way the institution of slavery could survive was by selling slaves to the western territories. The south seceded from the north out of economic necessity, fearing the Republican Party's platform banning any further expansion of slavery. Lincoln then waged the civil war to preserve the rights a handful of greedy white northerners to continue to make profits. He was forced to issue the emancipation proclamation after a year and a half of an increasingly unpopular war in order to: forestall British or French intervention, regain popular support for a war that the North did not appear to be winning, and aid in the enlistment of Black troops.

Direct Action is seldom quick and always dangerous for the participant. But, it gets results. There were over two hundred and thirty slave rebellions and plots before 1860. The first conspiracy of slaves and poor whites was recorded in Virginia in 1663. It would take two hundred years for that conspiracy to come to fruition.

and believe this, that it is no more harm for you to kill a man who is trying to kill you, than it is for you to take a drink of water when thirsty." This publication was distributed both in the north and widely (though clandestinely), in the south. It earned him a bounty on his head of \$3,000 dead or \$10,000 alive in several southern states. He also helped move Benjamin Lundy, William Lloyd Garrison, and other white, prominent, anti-slavery advocates from moderate reconciliation to a strong abolitionist stance, but someone earned that southern bounty. David Walker was dead and believed poisoned within three years, (and two re-issues), of the "Appeal".

After 1843, the "Appeal" was republished and distributed by a former slave and Presbyterian Minister, named Rev. Henry Highland Garnet, together with his own



"Address to the Slaves of America". "Address" called for an immediate violent revolution, invoking the heroism of Vesey and Turner. It was originally submitted as a

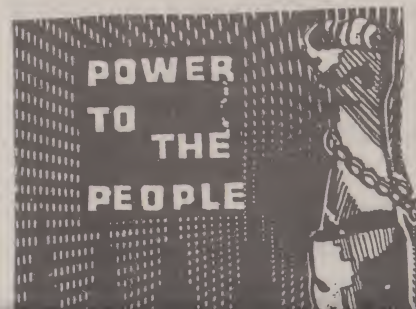
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Similar pressures throughout the colonies forced England to recognize limited representative government. By the 1760's, each of the original 13 colonies had a freely elected lower assembly. This assembly could propose laws and act as a limited check on both the appointed upper assembly and the Royal Governor. England continued to regulate trade and other external matters, while allowing the colonies to govern their own internal affairs.

Of course this freedom only applied if you were white, property-owners, and male. Despite very early attempts to establish equality by several of the original governors, (such as James Oglethorpe and William Penn),



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The Bill of Rights was only added to the constitution after the first congressional assembly due to overwhelming popular pressure. The constitution was written to protect the rights and privileges of the wealthy from future revolution. It permits minimal social reforms, while maximizing the

It is one of the greatest American myths that Abraham Lincoln emancipated the slaves. The slaves emancipated themselves,

opportunities for the upper classes to accumulate wealth.

Direct Actions leading to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation

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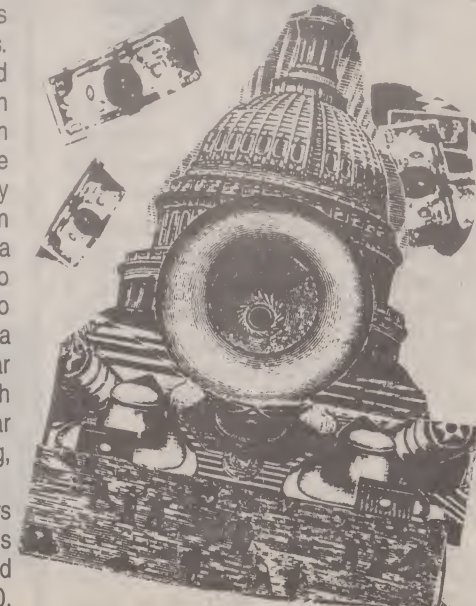
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Gabriel Prosser (1800 VA), Denmark Vesey (1821 SC), and Nat Turner (1831 VA) led a series of armed insurrections that terrified the slave owners in Virginia and the Carolinas. Both attempted rebellions were large (Vesey's conspiracy involved an estimated three to six thousand men), well organized conspiracies that only failed due to a combination of informants and bad luck, (a flood washed out



the bridges the day that Prosser gathered with over 900 followers to seize the Richmond armory). Nat Turner did have a temporary success. Together with an estimated sixty to ninety men, he seized the town of New Jerusalem with its arms and ammunition. He spared the poor whites but slew over seventy-five of the white planters and their families. These rebellions all failed in their immediate

and distributed by a former slave and Presbyterian Minister, named Rev. Henry Highland Garnet, together with his own



"Address to the Slaves of America". "Address" called for an immediate violent revolution, invoking the heroism of Vesey and Turner. It was originally submitted as a proposal to a national convention of Black leaders in Buffalo NY but failed to pass by a single vote and vehemently opposed by Fredrick Douglas who pronounced it "too radical". But "Address" inspired the black northern communities to a more militant and organized response and was also widely read by the abolitionist organizations, which by that time had exceeded one quarter of a million registered members.

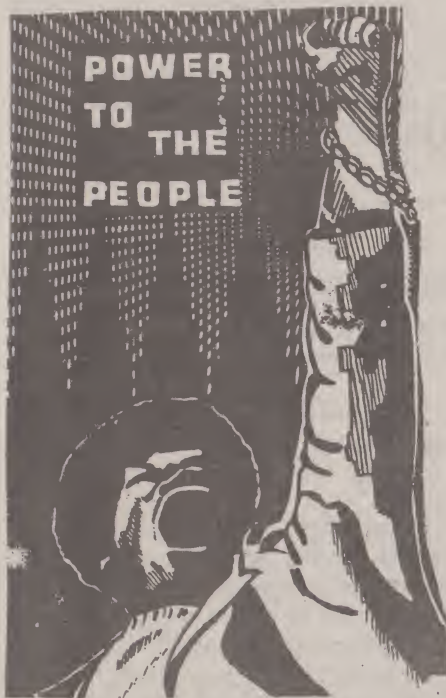
The trickle of fugitive slaves had turned into a flood. The 1840's and 1850's saw a dramatic increase in anti-slavery sentiments and any pro-slavery legislation that was passed by Congress only fueled this opposition. The passage of the "Fugitive Slave Act" resulted in the formation of black and white armed vigilance committees that actively opposed the slave-hunters, often at gunpoint. Many former slaves crossed back into the south to help their brethren escape. We only know of a few names but there were many more; Harriet Tubman, Jane Lewis,

Elizabeth Anderson, John Mason, and Arnold Cragston.

The history books teach us that the abolitionist movement culminated with John

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Of course this freedom only applied if you were white, property-owners, and male. Despite very early attempts to establish equality by several of the original governors, (such as James Oglethorpe and William Penn),



the colonists rapidly duplicated the class structures that they had in England. The upper and middle classes migrated here with their servants. Indentured servants comprised of convicts and/or the desperate poor of England were sold in all of the colonies. Once these 'persons of vile and low condition' worked off their indentures, they were little better off. Colonial legislatures passed laws restricting their rights, (particularly the right of assembly). Their conditions were only improved by constant struggle and rebellion

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Previous slave rebellions had forced the south to perpetuate itself as an armed camp. Thousands of fugitive slave radicalized many white Northerners with whom they came in contact and inflamed them against the south



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inspiration for many. And if you think they no longer inspire consider this: the South Carolina legislature recently refused to allow a statue of Denmark Vesey to be erected on the statehouse grounds, already littered with Confederate war memorials, on the grounds that he 'advocated violence'.

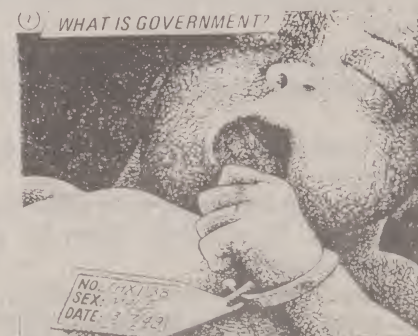
Resistance was not confined to the southern states. In 1829, a black Bostonian who had emigrated from North Carolina named David Walker published, "An Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World", which advocated Afro-American unity and a direct rebellion against the Southern plantation owners saying, "... they want us for their slaves, and think nothing of murdering us... therefore, if there is an attempt made by us, kill or be killed. ...

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The history books teach us that the abolitionist movement culminated with John Brown's raid on the arsenal at Harper's Ferry. Is this really the case? The indications were that the both the black and white abolitionists were growing stronger and more militant. Could an independent south have survived: deprived of any geographic expansion, living in constant anticipation of slave rebellions, and, due to the abolitionists, hemorrhaging its main marketable commodity? Maybe, all Lincoln did was preempt a foreordained revolution and guarantee African American economic and political enslavement for the next 140 years.



IS A USURPER AND A TYRANT;

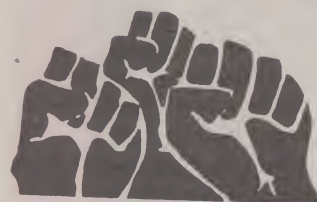
The Black Bloc, the Pagans and the Dog That Bit the Baby



Dog That Bit the Baby



Report from the IMF Meeting in Ottawa



By Starhawk

Three days of actions against the meetings of the IMF, the World Bank, and the G20 in Ottawa, Canada November 16-18 were successful in showing that, even during the climate of increased repression after September 11, and even on very short notice, we could mount a strong opposition to the institutions of globalization. The IMF/World bank meetings, which were to have been held in Washington DC Sept. 29 and 30, were rescheduled and moved to Canada after the September 11 attack. Our protests went well, especially considering the organizers had only three weeks notice to pull together a mobilization.

The organizers of this action took some big risks. First, attempting to call an action on such short notice was extremely difficult. Nevertheless, they mobilized probably 3-5000 people for three days of events.

Secondly, they explicitly invited all factions to sit down at the table and coordinated events to attempt to leave space for both committed nonviolent actions and actions that support a diversity of tactics. This process wasn't always smooth, but overall the result

We all started off together, marching in perfect peace and harmony until out of nowhere a contingent of riot cops in full gear set up a turnstile roadblock. They were spread out across the road and the march was required to walk between them, while snatch teams picked out individuals to be searched or arrested. We knew they would be targeting the black bloc, who as we said had been doing nothing other than peacefully marching, so we mingled them amongst the River. The cops ran in and grabbed a young man, pulling him out of the flow and throwing him to the ground. The march broke down. People were screaming and cops were snatching kids and crushing them on the pavement while more police dogs then I've ever seen were snarling and lunging. Mothers with babies in strollers were frantically trying to get away.

When the dead started to look restless, I began a heartbeat on the drum, they revived, and we danced a spiral, raising a very sweet cone of power.

French students who were doing a mock military march, formed up in groups of four, chanting "Gauche, gauche, extreme gauche." "Left, left, extreme left." We did a very simple grounding-with no sound system everything had to be repeated to be heard. We called in the elements with a word or two, got everyone dancing, and then danced down the street, or marched in formation, depending on your preference, to the War Memorial.

The faux military march marched around, then died. One by one, people called out what was dying, and threw themselves dramatically down on the ground. When the dead started to look restless, I began a heartbeat on the drum, they revived, and we danced a spiral, raising a very sweet cone of power. Then the students lifted up 'corpses' and carried them to the barricades, dropping them down and dragging them up to the metal barriers.

declares water to be a sacred trust and human right to be guarded by an international treaty. We brought out our Reverse Wishing Well filled with Waters of the World and colorful marbles. We passed it around, inviting people to make a wish for that better world that is possible, and to think about what they would do to make it real. We went off to have coffee and cake and leaflet in the market, encouraging people to think about alternative ways to show love and affection besides shopping at corporate stores.

The protests were successful in showing that, even during the climate of increased repression after September 11, we could mount a strong opposition to the institutions of globalization. But more than that, they gave us a chance to try out on a smaller scale some practical street solidarity. We have a lot of differences in the movement, ideological, tactical, differences of style. We're trying hard to hold those tensions, and so far, we're more successful than any movement I've been a part of before. But it's a fairly new attempt, and not easy. We're bound to make mistakes, and bound to let each other down. Still, with all the difficulties and frustrations, we need each other. In these times of increased repression, we've got to watch each other's backs. When the dog bites The Baby, there's

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Secondly, they explicitly invited all factions to sit down at the table and coordinated events to attempt to leave space for both committed nonviolent actions and actions that support a diversity of tactics. This process wasn't always smooth, but overall the result was a deepened level of trust between many groups in the movement.

Friday, OCAT, the Ontario Coalition Against Tories, CLAC, the Anti-Capitalist Convergence of Montreal, and the Black Touts of Toronto held a rally at which I spoke, and then a snake march through downtown Ottawa. The snake march was fast and spirited: the idea was to keep moving, avoid confrontations with the police, and disrupt downtown. Towards the end of the march, a few people broke windows at a McDonald's and tore down an anti-choice sign. This was the only real property damage that occurred during the weekend.



perfect peace and harmony until out of nowhere a contingent of riot cops in full gear set up a turnstile roadblock. They were spread out across the road and the march was required to walk between them, while snatch teams picked out individuals to be searched or arrested. We knew they would be targeting the black bloc, who as we said had been doing nothing other than peacefully marching, so we mingled them amongst the River. The cops ran in and grabbed a young man, pulling him out of the flow and throwing him to the ground. The march broke down. People were screaming and cops were snatching kids and crushing them on the pavement while more police dogs then I've ever seen were snarling and lunging. Mothers with babies in strollers were frantically trying to get away.

When the dead started to look restless, I began a heartbeat on the drum, they revived, and we danced a spiral, raising a very sweet cone of power.

On the side, the cops held a group of the bloc at bay, menacing them and others with snarling police dogs. A few of us jumped in between to protect the bloc and confront the police. "Your dog bit me!" a man next to me was crying. One man was on the ground, being attacked by a dog who bit him nearly down to the bone. The level of sheer, uncalled-for repression united everyone. As Betty Ann said, "When the dogs bit The Baby, it confirmed my solidarity with the black bloc."

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The River had the bloc well protected on one side, but on the opposite side our ranks were thin. The police ran in to attempt to grab the bloc, and from the other side cops came in to push the rest of the march back. They drove a line across the road, pushing our contingent, the back end with bloc and Pagans and others

chanting Gaudie, gaudie, extreme gaudie. "Left, left, extreme left." We did a very simple grounding-with no sound system everything had to be repeated to be heard. We called in the elements with a word or two, got everyone dancing, and then danced down the street, or marched in formation, depending on your preference, to the War Memorial.

The faux military march marched around, then died. One by one, people called out what was dying, and threw themselves dramatically down on the ground. When the dead started to look restless, I began a heartbeat on the drum, they revived, and we danced a spiral, raising a very sweet cone of power. Then the students lifted up 'corpses' and carried them to the barricades, dropping them down and dragging them up to the metal barriers.

We read the Cochabamba declaration, written by the people of Bolivia after they took their water supply back from privatization by the World Bank and IMF. It

well filled with waters of the world and colorful marbles. We passed it around, inviting people to make a wish for that better world that is possible, and to think about what they would do to make it real. We went off to have coffee and cake and leaflet in the market, encouraging people to think about alternative ways to show love and affection besides shopping at corporate stores.

The protests were successful in showing that, even during the climate of increased repression after September 11, we could mount a strong opposition to the institutions of globalization. But more than that, they gave us a chance to try out on a smaller scale some practical street solidarity. We have a lot of differences in the movement, ideological, tactical, differences of style. We're trying hard to hold those tensions, and so far, we're more successful than any movement I've been a part of before. But it's a fairly new attempt, and not easy. We're bound to make mistakes, and bound to let each other down. Still, with all the difficulties and frustrations, we need each other. In these times of increased repression, we've got to watch each other's backs. When the dog bites The Baby, there's no other choice.



Legalize Squatting!
Abolishing the Word Homeless

By B. Johnson

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On Saturday, we gather at LeBretton flats to march in the Peace March. Our cluster, a group of Pagans, became the Living River, bringing blue cloth, signs and flyers to focus attention on issues of water. The IMF and the World Bank include the privatization of water delivery services in the structural adjustment programs they impose on the third world. With privatization, the costs of drinking water rise beyond the ability of the poor to pay. Water, as a crucial resource, is in shorter and shorter supply, and within the next few decades many places will be facing shortages. The control of water resources may soon be as hot a political issue as the control of oil.

The River had a good contingent, probably sixty people, together with the Mothers and Midwives. Canadian activist and midwife Betty Ann Davis brought The Baby—a giant stocking doll that looks like newborn baby with an umbilical cord of knotted nylons attached to a giant helium balloon of the Earth. A contingent of the black bloc came to support the march.

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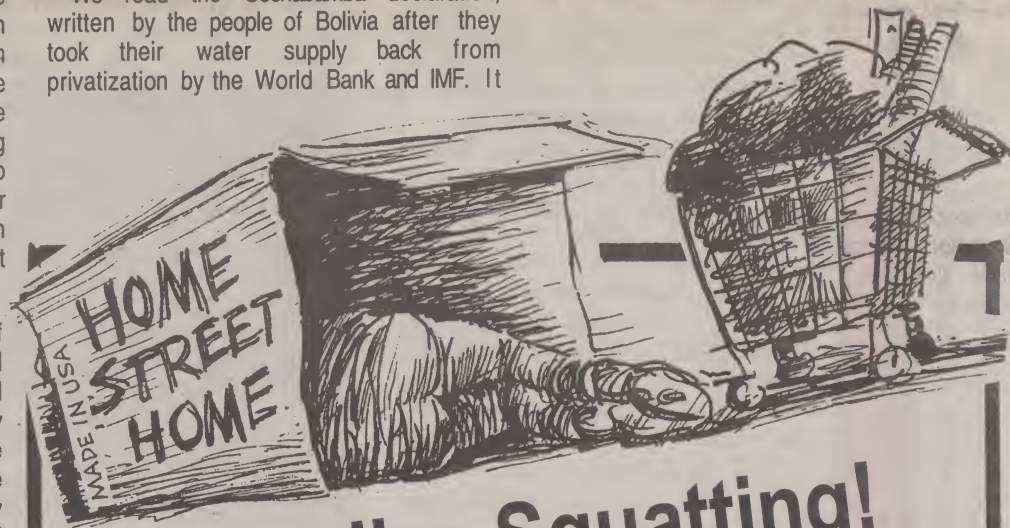
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I'm becoming less and less tolerant of the use of the word homeless to describe people who don't pay rent to live in houses. The reason, I think, is that it reflects our unwillingness to think critically about housing. When we call someone homeless we are inherently passing a judgment on them. We are saying that if you don't live in a Western house made out timber there is something wrong with you. The truth is not everyone wants to live this way. Some people like sleeping outside. And sleeping outside does have some serious advantages. You get to see things like the sky and stars. And it can be a generally good experience under the right circumstances. Of course, weather can be a problem. That's what shelter is for. But more and more people are questioning the idea that a western style house is the way to go. Houses which rely on timber can be considered unsustainable when they deplete our forests. They can also force us to spend our entire life working at an unsatisfying job to pay rent or a mortgage. Some people are exploring alternatives which can be more sustainable and affordable, such as using materials such as straw, dirt, canvas, or recycled tires.

I know that most people who sleep outside are not there by choice. But, I still don't think homeless is the right word. Whether people sleep in a shelter, in the woods or under a bridge, home is wherever you are. And some of us consider the earth our home. It's no longer safe to assume that everyone wants to live in a traditional house. I'm not suggesting that we shouldn't help houseless people find the shelter that they need. Just that we should respect a diversity of living preferences. Some houseless people on the west coast are choosing to live together in camps. And they are joining together with local activists to win recognition from city governments. Oregon has agreed to work with Dignity Village to find a permanent location. And Santa Cruz, California has said it will allow Camp Paradise to stay at its current location.

Instead of classifying people as 'homeless' we need to work together to make sure that everyone has a stable and secure living situation. And we need to oppose laws that criminalize people who don't pay rent every month. The real cause of 'homelessness' is capitalism's intolerance of anyone who lives outside its system of private property, ownership and domination.

Against Tories, CLAC, the Anti-Capitalist Convergence of Montreal, and the Black Touts of Toronto held a rally at which I spoke, and then a snake march through downtown Ottawa. The snake march was fast and spirited: the idea was to keep moving, avoid confrontations with the police, and disrupt downtown. Towards the end of the march, a few people broke windows at a McDonald's and tore down an anti-choice sign. This was the only real property damage that occurred during the weekend.



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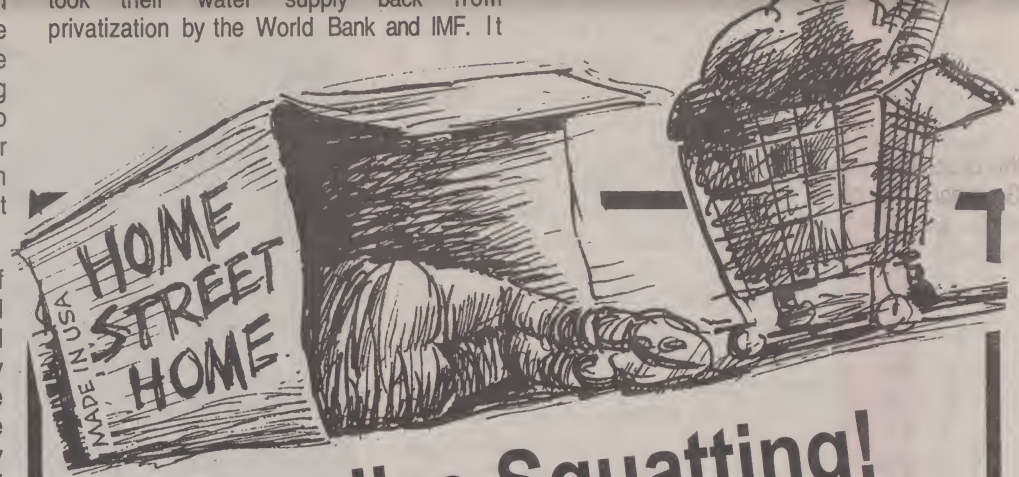
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A wi Pale

Twisting History

Zionists and others claim that Israel became a nation in 1312 B.C.E., two thousand years before the rise of Islam, and therefore present day Israelis have merely reoccupied their own land to which, as the original inhabitants, they have a greater right than those who have actually lived on the land this past three thousand years.

Mazin Zumsiyeh, of Yale University states that Israel did not "become a nation" in 1312 B.C.E. Israel of today has little to do with "Israel" of 3000 years ago. It is like comparing apples to oranges. Ilene Beatty, in *Arab and Jew in the Land of Canaan* writes: "The extended kingdoms of David and Solomon, on which the Zionists base their territorial demands, endured for only about 73 years

1948 was there ever anything other than a huge Arab majority. For example, the Jewish population in 1931 was 174,606 against a total of 1,033,314."

In the formation of the state of Israel in 1948, over 700,000 Palestinian refugees were created, there were massacres and 500 villages were destroyed. Despite rhetoric to the contrary, Israel is not and has never been interested in a negotiated diplomatic solution that is reached with secular moderate Palestinians. According to Noam Chomsky "Israel's purpose is to integrate the Occupied territories, to reduce or eliminate the Arab/Palestinian population and eliminate any manifestation of Palestinian nationalism or culture." This has always been the case: J. Weitz head of the Jewish Agency's Colonization

Israel is controlled by 160,000 rural Jews who exploit the land and heritage of over 5 million refugees packed in refugee camps and denied the right to return. For example: the refugees in Gaza are crammed at a density of 4,200 persons per sq. km. Dr. Abu Sitta asks: "If you were one of those refugees, and you look across the barbed wire to your land in Israel, and you see it almost empty, at 5 persons/sq. km. (almost one thousand times less density than Gaza!!) what would you feel? Peaceful? Content? This striking contrast is the root of all the suffering. It can only be eliminated with the return of the refugees."

Water rights form another crucial issue that is not commonly discussed. In the various "peace" accords of the past

The state of Israel, with a population of less than 5 million, has received detailed news about developments in Israel are the constant media coverage, most Americans conditions experienced by Palestinians under the

This page describes a large-scale public mural which in Arabic means "to make something out of nothing" on 2,500 square feet of the center with images of the brutal conditions faced in the Dheisheh camp to Palestine and the Right to Return.

Som

The four-story stairwell of the Ibdaa Center in Dheisheh Refugee Camp, town of Bethlehem, Occupied Palestine was the site of the Break the Silence Mural Project (BTS). The Ibdaa cultural center provides a safe haven for the people, especially the young people, of Dheisheh refugee camp. There are many classes offered, a computer center, a dance troupe (also called Ibdaa), which tours internationally (when travel permits can be acquired).

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Even if this ancient period of Jewish rule gives present day Israel historic rights to rule the land, the present Israeli occupation of Palestine is the only occupation where the natives did not survive and where they could not continue to live. Qumsiyeh writes that archaeologists at Tel Aviv University have shown that city states and kingdoms were routinely made and obliterated in the ancient land of Canaan while the natives survived and continued to live. In more recent times, the five hundred year occupation of Palestine by the Turks, the British and the Jordanians never involved expulsion of Palestinians from their lands.

Another take on ancient history is that the Israelites evolved from the local Canaanites and thrived. This is based on archaeological evidence, not the stories of the bibles which were never intended to be taken literally. Even if one is to take the stores of the bible literally, there is plenty of "evidence" in the bible that Hebrews prospered with Adomite and other Canaanites.

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Israel is controlled by 160,000 rural Jews who exploit the land and heritage of over 5 million refugees packed in refugee camps and denied the right to return. For example: the refugees in Gaza are crammed at a density of 4,200 persons per sq. km. Dr. Abu Sitta asks: "If you were one of those refugees, and you look across the barbed wire to your land in Israel, and you see it almost empty, at 5 persons/sq. km. (almost one thousand times less density than Gaza!!) what would you feel? Peaceful? Content? This striking contrast is the root of all the suffering. It can only be eliminated with the return of the refugees."

Water rights form another crucial issue that is not commonly discussed. In the various "peace" accords of the past decade, the Palestinians have not gained back their rights over water. When I was in the Occupied Territories I saw lush lawns of the settlements that were in stark



people with the Arabs in this small country. The only solution is Palestine, at least Western Palestine (west of the Jordan River) without Arabs . . . And there is no other way but to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighboring

contrast to the much more highly populated refugee camps that sometimes had no water at all for days on end. Dr. Abu Sitta writes about Israeli water consumption and agriculture: "Irrigation takes up about 60-80% of the water in Israel. 2/3 of it is Arab water. Agriculture

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The BTS/Ibdaa Mural Project was created by youth who have all grown up under the increasingly brutal occupation. Since the Oslo Accords in 1991, settlement building that was supposed to cease actually has increased by 25%. Palestinian land is now separated into Cantons, from which people cannot leave. Therefore, Palestinians are essentially incarcerated in outdoor prisons. I met people who had not been outside of an area of 2 or 3 square miles in many years. Newly built bypass roads that only the Israeli settlers are allowed to use criss-cross the land. Palestinians, when allowed to travel, must use indirect, dangerous roads that are in great disrepair. Their travel times have tripled or quadrupled. Roadblocks that are erected capriciously make passage by car impossible. Checkpoints, where Palestinians are typically made to wait for hours in the searing sun only to be turned back by rude soldiers, delay travel or make it impossible. People have literally

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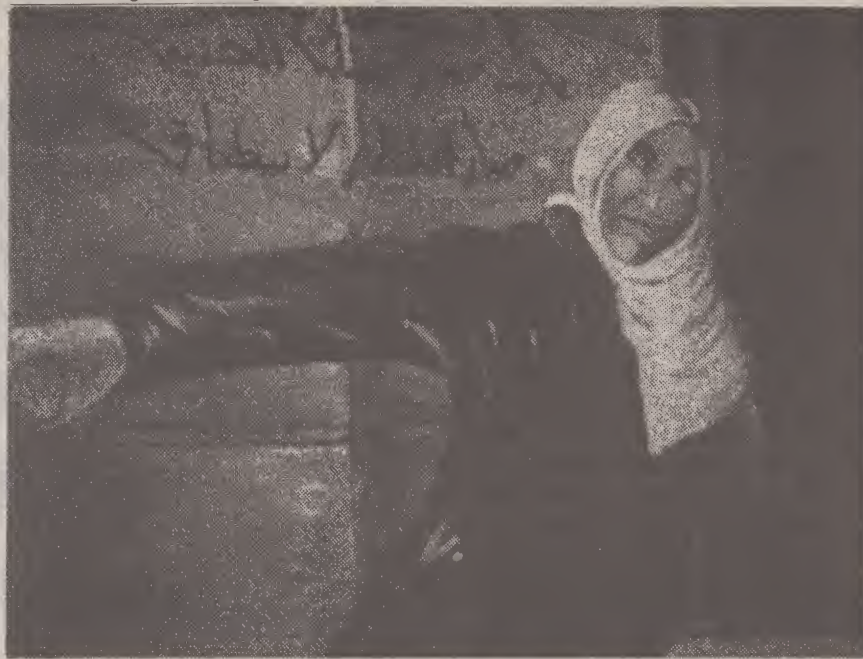
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The argument has been made, most famously by Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir that there never were any Palestinians, just nomads wandering in the desert. Edward Said in *The Question of Palestine* states: "Palestine became a predominately Arab and Islamic country by the end of the seventh century. Throughout the years, these people believed themselves to belong in a land called Palestine, despite their feelings that they were also members of a large Arab nation. Despite the steady arrival in Palestine of Jewish colonists after 1882, it is important to realize that not until the few weeks immediately preceding the establishment of Israel in the spring of

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The Palestinian refugee Right to Return is a pivotal issue. First, it is important to note that, under any conditions, confiscation of land is against the laws governing wars as well as various rulings by the UN. A common argument against the Right to Return is that there is not enough room in present day Israel to accommodate large numbers of returning Palestinian refugees.

Dr. Abu Sitta has shown that room for returning refugees is not the problem. 78% of Israelis live on 14% of the land. Therefore, states Dr. Abu Sitta, 86% of

contrast to the much more highly populated refugee camps that sometimes had no water at all for days on end. Dr. Abu Sitta writes about Israeli water consumption and agriculture: "Irrigation takes up about 60-80% of the water in Israel, 2/3 of it is Arab water. Agriculture in the southern district alone uses 500 million cubic meters of water per year. This is equal to the entire water resources of the West Bank now confiscated by Israel. This is equal to the entire resources of upper Jordan including lake Tiberias for which Israel is obstructing peace with Syria. Total irrigation water, a very likely cause of war, produces agricultural products worth only 1.8% of Israel's GDP. Such waste, such extravagance, such disregard for the suffering of the refugees, and such denial of their rights is exercised by 8,600 Kibbutzniks who

Continued on page 14

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The incarceration of Palestinian people, especially of males is pervasive. One can be held up to six months without being charged under 'administrative detention.' Every male and every male child we met had been arrested or beaten by the soldiers. Every Palestinian knows someone who has been killed by Israeli soldiers in the context of the occupation. Each child's father had been to prison and tortured, and often the family has witnessed the arrest.

For example, one evening we had dinner at the home of one of the young painters,

Window on Palestine

Articles By Susan R. Greene



of less than 7 million people, receives more US foreign aid than any other country — more than \$15 million per day. Despite its tiny size, Israel are daily fare in all mainstream US media outlets. Essentially all mainstream news coverage is from the Israeli perspective, and despite Americans hardly know anything about the *reasons* for all of the violence and conflict there. Americans are never told *anything* about the under the occupation.

Public mural project, painted this past August in Dheisheh refugee camp, Occupied Palestine. The mural is in a community center called Ibdia, 'coming out of nothing.' Three American Jewish women, including the author, worked with a core group of six Palestinian young people to cover the walls with murals representing the history of Palestine. The article entitled "Something Out of Nothing" describes the process of creating the mural, the Dheisheh camp, and the mural itself. The article entitled "Twisting History" is an excellent historical and political analysis of the Zionist claims

Something out of Nothing

Ibdia town of as the Project provides ally the camp. ed, a (also ionally uired),

Khaled. His mother told several stories: "One time during a curfew Khaled, at age 7, wandered from the house. Some Israeli soldiers found Khaled and brought him back to the house and they said 'Now we are going to beat him in front of you.' I screamed 'No-you can't do this to my child.' And I tried to stop them. They started to hit my child and I tried to grab him and they hit me and pushed me down. I couldn't do anything . . . and I cried and

bowls and they turned all the bowls upside-down and dumped all the food onto the middle of the table. After breaking a few dishes they would leave, saying to us 'Now eat your dinner.'"

In spite of the conditions described above, the young people we worked with were enthusiastic, talented, courageous and extraordinarily funny and playful. The Palestinians are very resilient and were savvy about politics. The most important

American people." We agreed to do the best we could.

On our first day we met with the artists who were selected to work with us because of their interest and skills in art. These young people all spoke very little English, the BTS members spoke no Arabic, and without the translations of Khaled, the project would have been a veritable Tower of Babel. Also joining us that first day were the directors of the Ibdia center,

cope with the situation. Fifteen minutes later everyone went back up to the restaurant. For the Palestinians this was a common occurrence and a 'normal' part of everyday life.

We painted 12-15 hours a day on the mural for the following three weeks. It was a very intense process. We normally worked at night when it was cooler, and since most of the fighting took place at night it was too never seeking to sleep

less than 7 million people, receives more US foreign aid than any other country — more than \$15 million per day. Despite its tiny size, are daily fare in all mainstream US media outlets. Essentially all mainstream news coverage is from the Israeli perspective, and despite ans hardly know anything about the reasons for all of the violence and conflict there. Americans are never told anything about the er the occupation.

c mural project, painted this past August in Dheisheh refugee camp, Occupied Palestine. The mural is in a community center called Ibdad, g out of nothing." Three American Jewish women, including the author, worked with a core group of six Palestinian young people to cover es representing the history of Palestine. The article entitled "Something Out of Nothing" describes the process of creating the mural, h camp, and the mural itself. The article entitled "Twisting History" is an excellent historical and political analysis of the Zionist claims

Something out of Nothing

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Khaled. His mother told several stories: "One time during a curfew Khaled, at age 7, wandered from the house. Some Israeli soldiers found Khaled and brought him back to the house and they said 'Now we are going to beat him in front of you.' I screamed 'No-you can't do this to my child.' And I tried to stop them. They started to hit my child and I tried to grab him and they hit me and pushed me down. I couldn't do anything . . . and I cried and cried. Finally they left and I held my child and I am crying and crying."

Khaled's mother also told us how the soldiers would come to their house every once in a while during dinnertime. "They came to the table where all the food was in

bowls and they turned all the bowls upside down and dumped all the food onto the middle of the table. After breaking a few dishes they would leave, saying to us 'Now eat your dinner.'"

In spite of the conditions described above, the young people we worked with were enthusiastic, talented, courageous and extraordinarily funny and playful. The Palestinians are very resilient and were savvy about politics. The most important issue for the people we spent time with was a keen awareness that their situation is largely unknown to the world. They want to tell the world what has happened to them. Khaled's mother told us that we could be a "window onto Palestine for the

American people." We agreed to do the best we could.

On our first day we met with the artists who were selected to work with us because of their interest and skills in art. These young people all spoke very little English, the BTS members spoke no Arabic, and without the translations of Khaled, the project would have been a veritable Tower of Babel. Also joining us that first day were the directors of the Ibdad center. The agenda items were: the theme of the mural and where to paint the mural.

In a very short amount of time decisions were reached. The place for the mural was to be the stairwell and the theme was to be the history of Palestine, one era per floor. Floor one: Before the Nakba (Nakba means the "catastrophe" of 1948, when Israel was founded, refugees created etc.), the second floor was the Nakba, and the first Intifada (Uprising), the third floor was the Second Intifada, and a tribute to all who have lost their lives, and the fourth floor ends the mural with hopes and dreams for the future.

We spent the next week designing the mural in a collective process while the walls were primed. We often heard gunfire and this first week there was a particularly high incidence of it. There were several settlements, built since the Oslo Accord's, whose residents bombed and shot at the Palestinian towns. Palestinians returned the fire. Some Palestinians were armed to varying levels of sophistication, however, no Palestinians were armed to the level of the Israeli settlers and military. There were always Israeli tanks in position

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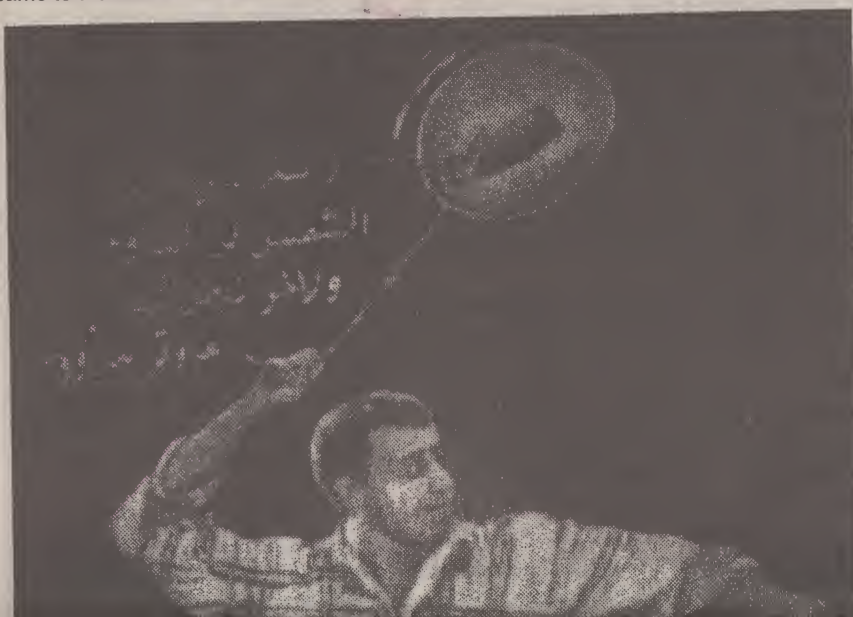
We painted 12-15 hours a day on the mural for the following three weeks. It was a very intense process. We normally worked at night when it was cooler, and since most of the fighting took place at night it was too never-racking to sleep anyway. A total of 30 people participated in the mural painting, some painting for a week, some for an afternoon.

Description of the Ibdad Mural

The first section shows the land before the formation of the state of Israel. It has soft rolling hills, sheepherders and a poem that foreshadows the longing for home that soon will be reality.

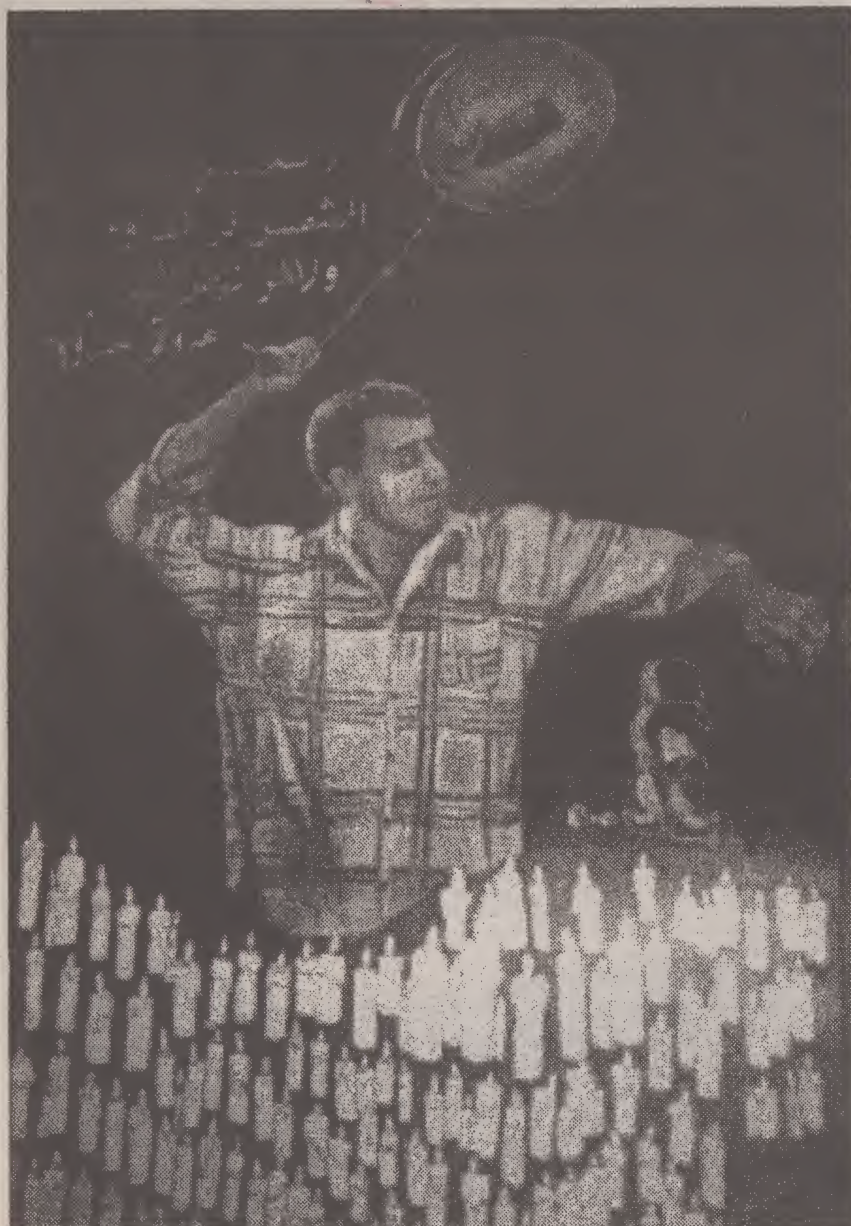
A potent symbol included in this section is the cactus, whose name in Arabic means patience. When the 500 villages were destroyed in 1948, the root systems of the cactus survived. In the ensuing 54 years the cactus groves have grown back, like ghosts, showing where the villages once stood.

The Palestinian flower is in the first section of the mural. It is the anemone and has the colors of the Palestinian flag. During the first Intifada (1987-91) the flag was outlawed to the point where if a Palestinian was merely wearing the colors of the flag he or she was risking a confrontation with the Israeli military. An artist friend of ours said that an Israeli soldier told him to stop painting the Palestinian flower or he would be



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Another evening during our first week the camp was shelled. We were eating in the restaurant on the fourth floor and there was a tremendous explosion. Everyone ran downstairs, and I found that my greatest concern was that I might not get to finish my dinner. I believed that nothing could go wrong. I realized later how I used a kind of manic denial in order to

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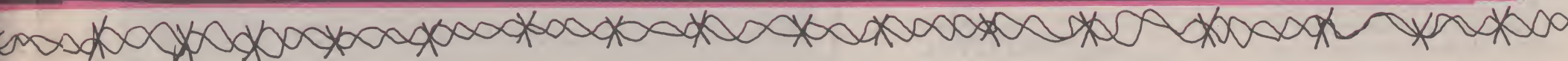
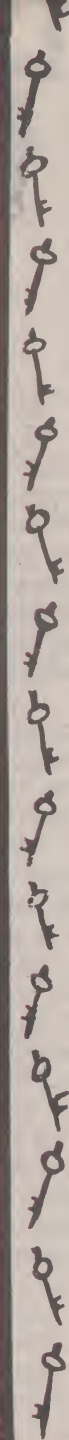
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The mural depicts Handala on the second floor. Handala is a cartoon figure of a refugee boy drawn by the very popular political satirist Naji Al-Ali, who was assassinated in London in 1987. Everyone in Palestine knows Handala. Handala cartoons hung in most homes I visited, Handala t-shirts were commonly worn, and there was Handala graffiti on many walls of the camp.

Keys and barbed wire run throughout the mural. The keys are depictions of the literal keys that all refugees have to the homes from which they were expelled. Many people still have the deeds to their houses in addition to the keys. The barbed wire is a reference to the imprisonment that Palestinians experience and to the literal

Continued on page 14



Gentrify

Continued from page 1

thorns in the side of people inclined to traditional lives, I do think freak bohemians can have social and political purpose and contribute valuably to the glittering diversity that is an integral part of urban life. White bohemians are placed in a sticky position between our politics and ideals, and the reality of our unwilling but crucial role in promoting gentrification. Because of this role, we may face hostility from a number of fronts, including displaced tenants, the new yuppies, and the old property owners who appreciate the rise in property values that comes with gentrification.

How can gentrification be successfully fought? What is the place of white bohemians and activists in the struggle? Understanding the relation of property to capital is key; in this era of gentrification, city governments are working more closely than ever with development corporations. The battle can be fought both on the bureaucratic front, exposing developer-government connections, and by taking direct action against corporate developers. Tangible improvements to the neighborhood can be made directly by people in the neighborhood, although these improvements usually themselves encourage gentrification. In all these actions, it is important for newly-transplanted activists to respect the work of activists already in the area.

Real estate, the root of evil

When a friend of mine was in prison in the 1970's, his history teacher said that the history of the world revolved around real estate. The root cause of gentrification is real

estate, the relationship between property and capital. With the exception of tenant protections like rent control and subsidized "affordable housing", housing costs are arbitrated by the market. Landlords charge what they can based upon the demand for an area. Landlords are most excited when a lot of people with money want to live in an area. When people with money aren't interested in an

area, landlords have little incentive to put money into their property, because they won't earn enough of a profit since nobody will pay high enough rent. Buildings deteriorate and are torched so landlords can collect insurance money. Lots lay fallow, buildings deteriorate, and social services slump.

One manifestation of government-developer

"One longs for more bad taste, for more surprise, dirt and looseness, more anarchic, unself-conscious play."

Gentrification happens because of this relationship between property and capital, because the land owner can make a profit off the fact that somebody is living on their land. It is this profit-motive that keeps poor people moving at the whim of the wealthier folks. Displacement of poor and working class people is built into the very structure of capitalism.

Cities encourage gentrification because it

will generate more tax revenues, which city governments increasingly depend on as the federal government moves away from supporting local governments. Thus cities have an incentive to encourage reinvestment in an area through zoning concessions, tax structures, and reducing protection for affordable housing.

Neither will the area be a 'haven' for low-

income people, who get their social services and then their homes taken away as rents and property taxes rise in response to the reinvestment. What's worse, the excess money can be moved between TIF zones that border each other, so low income residents in a newer TIF area may be paying to further develop an area already gentrified by an existing TIF. Because TIFs can last for so long, developers may continue to get subsidies long after the area resembles a Starbucks-laced American Dream.

Government encouragement of gentrification also takes the form of zoning concessions, reduced protection for affordable housing, and weaker rent control laws. For example, developer David Walentas tried for nearly 20 years to get permission to gentrify the DUMBO (Down Under Manhattan Bridge Overpass) area of Brooklyn, NY, an industrial, non-residentially zoned area. Throughout the 80's and 90's city and state governments argued he lacked funding; if private market investors were not willing to fund him, why should they grant him the change in zoning necessary for him to redevelop the area residentially? But the state of New York did move their labor department into one of the buildings he purchased in the area, stabilizing his investment in the area enough to encourage several arts galleries to open. Finally in 1998, after a yuppified arts gallery community was set up, the city government broke down. They took the crucial step of rezoning the area, giving him full permission to develop luxury residential condos and an

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incest is the insidious Tax Increment Financing (TIF) zone. Instituted in 1977 and operating in 44 states, TIFs center around freezing the portion of property tax dollars that go into social services at current levels for some designated period of time, up to 30 years. The extra money earned from inflation and rising property values is channeled towards reinvestment in the neighborhood via city subsidies for developers. For an area to be designated a TIF by the mayor and city council, it must be officially considered 'blighted'. The idea is that after all this city-supported development, the area will no longer be a haven for blight.

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MAYDAY
WEST COAST REGIONAL
anticapitalist convergence
AUTONOMOUS FESTIVALS OF
RESISTANCE

SF BAY AREA APRIL 26TH ~ MAY 1ST

Mayday is an ancient holiday of spring, celebrating the rebirth of the world and the bounty of nature. It is also International Workers' Day, which marks workers' struggle for liberation from those who would exploit others for their own profit. As such, the spirit of Mayday in human history has roots and significance much deeper than any political conjuncture.

In view of this we invite all people to come together in the spirit of Mayday and join in autonomous festivals of resistance expressing



RTS



Brothers is a Beautiful Thing

It is hard to believe, but Brothers Liquor, long-time supplier of refreshment to the Long Haul's neighborhood, has been pinned down as the root source of all drug dealing, reckless driving, loud music, and general evil-doing in the south Berkeley stretch of Shattuck Avenue. In fact, one might even posit that Brothers Liquor is the source of all Black People in the neighborhood. Or so you might think after hearing testimony at the Berkeley City Council meeting January 15, 2002 regarding the designation of Brothers as a public nuisance. The City Council certainly was blown away by the evidence: they went from designating the store a public nuisance to revoking the owner's business license at the close of the public hearing.

Neighbors organized in a group called PAIN, People Against Insanity in the Neighborhood, complained of drug dealing, prostitution, public pissing, shitting, and sex, loud music, and rudeness on the part of the store owners.

Strangely enough, a completely different scene was portrayed by another group of neighbors. The latter group of supporters spoke of caring owners who knew them by name and would extend store credit, and appreciated the safety of having a well-lit place open late at night on the way home from BART (commuter trains). Supporters also pointed out that many of the complaints leveled at Brothers' could be equally applied to the Starry Plough, a well-known Irish pub a block away. Furthermore, supporters noted that, while they felt perfectly safe in the Brothers' parking lot, drug dealing is common all along that stretch of Shattuck Ave.

It was shocking but true: almost all those opposed to the store were white, while Brothers' supporters were majority black. By the end of the meeting the city council chamber was split nearly down the middle. Such a racial divide in the backwards South, sure, but in fair Berkeley? A number of the black speakers mentioned prejudice and carried signs denouncing the racism in the ruling.

Few benefit from street drug dealing and reckless driving, but it is extreme and utter bullshit

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We do not see what we do as lacking in legitimacy and do not seek to appeal or accommodate to existing hierarchies of power in an effort to boost our own standing.

We hope that people with a shared vision can bring their own initiative and inspirations to organize events that would enrich these festivals, each in their own way. We do not seek subordination from those we work with and do not think that people need our approval to make their inspirations a reality. We would like to work together based on freedom and trust, and to offer help, mutually. We believe this in itself is valuable. We do not seek to form organizations or hierarchies, but would rather form friendships.

Together, anything is possible.

If you would like to organize or help organize an event as part of the festivals or need assistance with housing, etc., please contact us.

For more information 415-820-9658
<http://festivalsofresistance.org>
mayday-info@festivalsofresistance.org



RTS



Brot Beau

It is hard to believe, but Brothers' neighborhood, has been pinned on music, and general evil-doing in the area. Even posit that Brothers' Liquor might think after hearing testimony regarding the designation of BART away by the evidence: they were the owner's business license at the time.

Neighbors organized in a group complained of drug dealing, prostitution on the part of the store owners.

Strangely enough, a complete store credit, and appreciated home from BART (commuter train) leveled at Brothers' could be easily away. Furthermore, supporters of the lot, drug dealing is common all over the area.

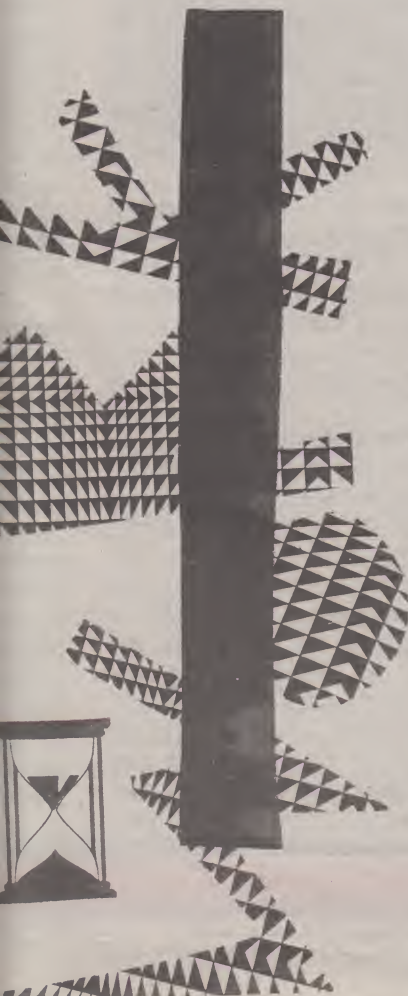
It was shocking but true: all the supporters were majority black, nearly down the middle. Such a number of the black speakers mentioned ruling.

Few benefit from street drug dealing that Brothers' take the heat for responsible for what people do. Responsible for alcoholism? Homeowners in the area. Of course two distinct stories are told by the situation needs to be carefully examined.





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Few benefit from street drug dealing and reckless driving; but it is extreme and utter bullshit that Brothers take the heat for these activities all along the 7 block stretch. Brothers is not responsible for what people do before or after they come to the store. Or is the liquor store responsible for alcoholism? This scapegoat has been drawn and quartered by the white homeowners in the area. Of course people should have input into what they live next to. But when two distinct stories are told by sizeable groups of people divided down color lines, the whole situation needs to be carefully examined in light of race and class privilege.



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this!

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entertainment pier.

Organizations originally intended to support low-income housing, like the Federal Housing Authority (FHA), are increasingly used to funnel money towards developers. FHA support was crucial in the development of the Queens neighborhood Long Island City, a mixed area of factories, warehouses, and working class apartment buildings. Developers were unable to gain a foothold for most of the 80's; banks were unwilling to lend to smaller developers seeking projects in such a 'risky' area. In order to push the area towards more lucrative developments, a large corporation was formed in the mid 80's including such key government players as the New York Port Authority and the city's Economic Development Corporation.

As soon as neighborhood resistance to the corporation's luxury development project was organized, a NY state organization intended to build affordable housing joined the behemoth corporation; the state organization perversely had the power to squash local opposition to development proposals. The final straw in the fight against luxury development was mortgage insurance for the project issued by, surprise, the Federal Housing Authority! The FHA justified the development by saying they were supposed to support development "pioneers". By the end, these gentrification pioneers were supported by four government organizations including two intended to protect affordable housing. What the fuck?

The city cheats and lies

Real, tangible neighborhood improvements often originate not from corrupt government organizations but from within the neighborhood. People in a neighborhood often have specific ideas of what could make their neighborhood a better place to live- for example, where better lighting is needed, where traffic could be re-routed to make the

improvement is to employ people who actually live in the area to do neighborhood cleanup and improvement. A number of these programs exist but are often in tenuous positions. For example Oakland has a youth program training and employing young people in street cleanup and environmental education. Oakland Mayor Jerry Brown is fixated on clean bus stops; the youth program offered to step in and clean up the stops, but Jerry Brown would rather cut the entire youth program in favor of a 24-hr city-wide bus stop clean up crew, a more expensive option without the benefits of youth employment. Where are Jerry Brown's priorities??

The future of property

White activists and freaks should take responsibility for their role in gentrification and should actively work against it. Gentrification, housing, displacement issues

gentrification. For example, numerous riots supporting the squatter community in New York City's Tompkins Square park brought international attention to the gentrification of the Lower East Side. However, as more militant organizations morphed into housing and tenant service organizations, developers encountered less opposition and charged full speed ahead. The time is particularly ripe for direct action in the San Francisco Bay Area, where the fall of the virtual E-economy left many developers with unfinished projects. Once an area is cleared or tamed, it is ready for the newcomers whenever they will arrive;

organized to improve their neighborhood. They managed to improve their neighborhood into an extremely pleasant place to live without gentrification, through community cohesion and involvement at every step of the process, and a vision that included social as well as economic improvements. The neighborhood organization, the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative, got funding from a local foundation but retained control of the spending. In an unprecedented victory they gained eminent domain over the many empty lots in the neighborhood. They launched an impressive affordable housing project where families earning as little as 15,000 a year can buy into co-ops or new homes. The neighborhood set up a shopping area but allowed only local business to move in, with no chain stores or check-cashing outlets allowed. Local business started a campaign to keep local money in the neighborhood.

Specifically, what can white punks, bohemians, and activists do to fight the gentrification of their neighborhoods? There is not one formula; here are some ideas.

*Look around and talk to people about neighborhood change and anti-displacement work already being done. Do oral history projects of the neighborhood.

*Expose development plans on the part of corporations and various branches of government. Snake your way into the 'public' meetings held by the inner workings of the government bureaucracy. Oppose corporate development scams with a range of tactics.

*Support the foundation of neighborhood associations like the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative.



Authority and the city's Economic Development Corporation.

As soon as neighborhood resistance to the corporation's luxury development project was organized, a NY state organization intended to build affordable housing joined the behemoth corporation; the state organization perversely had the power to squash local opposition to development proposals. The final straw in the fight against luxury development was mortgage insurance for the project issued by, surprise, the Federal Housing Authority! The FHA justified the development by saying they were supposed to support development "pioneers". By the end, these gentrification pioneers were supported by four government organizations including two intended to protect affordable housing. What the fuck?

The city cheats and lies

Real, tangible neighborhood improvements often originate not from corrupt government organizations but from within the neighborhood. People in a neighborhood often have specific ideas of what could make their neighborhood a better place to live—for example, where better lighting is needed, where traffic could be re-routed to make the roads safer, where gardens could be put in. People can do these things themselves even in the absence of city support, with immediate results. However, physical improvements are easily co-opted. For example, several south Berkeley neighborhoods, frustrated with cars speeding through their neighborhood streets, took initiative and created traffic-slowing detours with concrete barriers and planters at key intersections. Later, Berkeley cops used the same method to corral drug dealers in areas with lots of drug sales.

While homemade improvements can be immensely satisfying in the short term, the kicker is that once neighborhood improvements are made, the real estate is more valuable and so gentrification is likely to happen anyway. Yuppies love those quaint community gardens.

City-funded neighborhood improvement is usually not done with the community itself in mind. Rather it is a vehicle for social cleansing and social control. "Improvement" is often a justification for criminalizing whole populations of people. For example, Oakland has a whole set of laws regulating the way people congregate in the street. These laws are meant to control cruising and what the Oakland PD calls 'sideshowes', and are only enforced in certain, predictably minority and poor areas of

White activists and freaks should take responsibility for their role in gentrification and should actively work against it. Gentrification, housing, displacement issues



are not new; groups all over the political spectrum are already waging campaigns and newer activists should see what the scene is. Obviously it is good to get in touch with existing groups to make sure you don't step on their toes. The Autonomous Zone, an anarchist community center in Chicago, worked closely with the Brown Berets, a Latino activist group already active in the same area. When issues came up the two groups would contact each other, sometimes reserving different days for actions associated with a specific group.

Artists in the San Francisco Mission

where the fall of the virtual E-conomy left many developers with unfinished projects. Once an area is cleared or tamed, it is ready for the newcomers whenever they will arrive;

victory they gained eminent domain over the many empty lots in the neighborhood. They launched an impressive affordable housing project where families earning as little as 15,000 a year can buy into co-ops or new homes. The neighborhood set up a shopping area but allowed only local business to move in, with no chain stores or check-cashing outlets allowed. Local business started a campaign to keep local money in the neighborhood.

Specifically, what can white punks, bohemians, and activists do to fight the gentrification of their neighborhoods? There is not one formula; here are some ideas.

- *Look around and talk to people about neighborhood change and anti-displacement work already being done. Do oral history projects of the neighborhood.

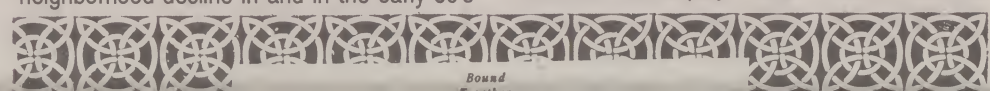
- *Expose development plans on the part of corporations and various branches of government. Snake your way into the 'public' meetings held by the inner workings of the government bureaucracy. Oppose corporate development scams with a range of tactics.

- *Support the foundation of neighborhood associations like the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative.

- *Help fight individual evictions.

- *Help with direct neighborhood improvement projects like kids projects, gardens, traffic slow-down devices (and do other things to fight the yuppies who want to leach off this good work).

Gentrification is essentially apartheid by race and class. There are always multiple cultures coexisting in one area; the question is which cultures are officially recognized, and what political power these recognized cultures have. As an area gentrifies, the range of activities and people considered acceptable in the area shrinks. Formerly vibrant urban areas become suburban monocultures where human creativity is replaced by packaged experiences OK'd by the market. Neighborhood gentrification mirrors global homogenization where culture and life are governed by an increasingly small number of rich, powerful organizations with no relevance to the immediate local. Imperialism stifles life; a Boston anti-gentrification activist shouts, "one longs for more bad taste, for more surprise, dirt and looseness, more anarchic, unself-conscious play."



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Blight control is another mechanism of control, allowing the city to decide who can live in an area through harassment by fines. Oakland is in the process of making it illegal to park a camper or RV on the street; RV owners must park their vehicles in a garage. Rich people can afford storage for campers; poor people often live in campers within city limits.

Safe, sustaining neighborhoods are an aspect of society everyone should enjoy. The way to prevent gentrification is definitely not to keep affordable neighborhoods crime-ridden and scary to both outsiders and the people that live there. And the way to prevent crime and drug abuse is not to criminalize the culture of youth of color and homeless people. A sensible strategy towards neighborhood

are not new; groups all over the political spectrum are already waging campaigns and newer activists should see what the scene is. Obviously it is good to get in touch with existing groups to make sure you don't step on their toes. The Autonomous Zone, an anarchist community center in Chicago, worked closely with the Brown Berets, a Latino activist group already active in the same area. When issues came up the two groups would contact each other, sometimes reserving different days for actions associated with a specific group.

Artists in the San Francisco Mission District were not quite so willing to work with housing and displacement activists. As live/work spaces first gained popularity among what was still the artist fringe, some artists thought city regulations were hindering their progress converting old warehouses into loft spaces. In their excitement they petitioned city hall for relaxed building code standards, less obligation to affordable housing, and zoning breaks. Against the recommendation of other artists working with housing groups, the artists refused to define "artist" in the code relaxation; essentially they wrote a blank check for corporate developers to build armies of loft space. The result is the San Francisco we see now, covered in boring bullshit post modern loft space. The politically unsavvy artists wrote their own eviction note.

Now is an excellent time for more militant activists to get involved in anti-gentrification campaigns. In the late 1980's, community direct action against developers helped temporarily dry up enthusiasm for

but it is also true that the exact course of history is now unclear. Diverse, community based organization and activism may affect the future of all the property for sale now in the Bay area.

One successful example of gentrification resistance is Boston's Dudley Street neighborhood. One of Boston's poorest neighborhoods, the community got fed up with neighborhood decline in and in the early 80's

improvement projects like kids projects, gardens, traffic slow-down devices (and do other things to fight the yuppies who want to leach off this good work).

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Doomed to Die a

By Sonny Zart

CORCORAN STATE PRISON - 1996

It's another hot sweltering August afternoon at California State Prison Corcoran. A few hundred prisoners mill around the yard, some exercising, while others hang in small groups talking about family, wives, lovers and just about anything else that will take their minds off their confinement.

Suddenly, unexpectedly, a loud intrusive alarm sounds. Over the prison intercom system a booming voice announces, "CODE-3, ALL INMATES LAY FACE DOWN UPON THE GROUND!" Most have already hit the dirt. Others dive for it.

A gray haired black man in his sixties and two younger companions near the basketball court are late responding; they stand out like wall flowers at a high school dance. A flock of pigeons roosting on a nearby rooftop, startled by the commotion, takes pandemonious flight.

Guards with guns appear in the surrounding gun towers. Except for the sound of running feet and jiggling keys, the yard becomes ghostly quiet. Prison Guards (who prefer to be called Correctional Officers, but whom prisoners refer to as "Bulls", "Hacks", "Screws" and "Turn Keys") dressed in tan and green uniforms come running from every direction, looking for the source of the alarm.

Overhead, guards in the gun towers watch their every move, scanning for potential

closely cropped hair); skin back your foreskin; lift your balls; turn around and bend over and spread your cheeks; keep them spread and cough three times; now let me see the bottom of your feet."

While the three endure this humiliation, I notice their nervous, fearful glances at the nearest gun tower. They know, as I do, the tower guard's gun sights were trained on them, just in case they make the wrong move. Knowing Corcoran the way I do, it wouldn't take much to start guns blasting. When the strip search is over, the men still aren't allowed to get dressed or put on their underwear (which is usually the case). The three are lectured several more minutes before they're told to get dressed. Finally, the three deflated men are allowed to join the rest of the prisoners and things returned to normal, or as normal as they could be inside a maximum security prison. One of the three, a friend of mine walks over to me and says, "Did you see that, man? Did you see that? They treated us like slaves at an auction. All 'cause we hit the ground a little late. I told 'em we was looking out for Mr. Green, he being an older brother. But they wasn't giv'en a damn. They wasn't hearing anything we had to say. You know man, it's bad enough for us younger brothers to go through this shit. But it gotta

idea of "Correctional Slavery" the least bit amusing! At any rate, a powerful argument can be made that slavery does indeed exist in America, and I believe there is considerable empirical evidence to support this conclusion.

A perfect historical analogy of a similar type of enslavement were the debtor prisons of Europe. Laws were written that created criminal conduct where there should not have been. Under such laws, tens of thousands were imprisoned for economic crimes; crimes such as failing to pay debts or bills. The law of the day required the imprisoned to work off their debt. Most, however found this an impossibility, because their daily incarceration costs, their room and board, was taken out of any money they earned. These costs far

the user to obtain some feeling of euphoria. However, our society has chosen, for some insane reason, to make some drugs legal and others not. I call this policy insane because in many cases the licit drugs are far more dangerous and harmful than the illicit ones. For example, alcohol and tobacco are legal drugs that kill far more people, than all the illicit drugs combined, yet they are legal. Marijuana, heroin and cocaine are illicit not because they are more dangerous, but based on custom and religiously based moral objections. In other words, if you use the legal drugs, you can do so with impunity; regardless of the physical harm those drugs do to the body, and regardless of the social cost to families and society. The only exception to this rule is, if while intoxicated,

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exceeded the amounts paid for their labors while imprisoned. As a result, imprisonment became life time bondage. Whole families were imprisoned and labored under these draconian laws. The only beneficiaries of such cruel laws were those who used this cheap labor to enrich themselves. Eventually, these debtors were

you harm someone or their property. If, however, you are allergic to the legal drugs (for example alcohol or tobacco), or have some other aversion, to these drugs- yet you still crave to alter your state of consciousness and take an illicit drug, you face criminal liability. Why? Because you failed to use society's

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targets. Adrenaline surges. The tension is as thick as tree sap, as both prisoners and guards wait to see if this is the real deal or just another false alarm.

While everyone waits, a handful of officers head for the three wall flowers. A few nerve racking minutes later, the intercom announces, "CODE-4 FALSE ALARM, RETURN TO NORMAL PROGRAM." Prisoners start getting up, dusting off their blue denim pants

be a bitch, to be in your sixties and have men and women the age of your grandchildren telling you to bend over and crack 'a smile. That's cold shit man; doing us like that. Like we ain't shit. Stripping us in front of those females, just like they did those brothers back in the slave days. It ain't right I tell you. It ain't right. We is slaves."

"You're right," I respond earnestly, "We are nothing but slaves, California Correctional

many cases the licit drugs are far more dangerous and harmful than the illicit ones. For example, alcohol and tobacco are legal drugs that kill far more people, than all the illicit drugs combined, yet they are legal. Marijuana, heroin and cocaine are illicit not because they are more dangerous, but based on custom and religiously based moral objections. In other words, if you use the legal drugs, you can do so with impunity; regardless of the physical harm those drugs do to the body, and regardless of the social cost to families and society. The only exception to this rule is, if while intoxicated, A perfect historical analogy of a similar type of enslavement were the debtor prisons of Europe. Laws were written that created criminal conduct where there should not have been. Under such laws, tens of thousands were imprisoned for economic crimes; crimes such as failing to pay debts or bills. The law of the day required the imprisoned to work off their debt. Most, however found this an impossibility, because their daily incarceration costs, their room and board, was taken out of any money they earned. These costs far

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exceeded the amounts paid for their labors while imprisoned. As a result, imprisonment became life time bondage. Whole families were imprisoned and labored under these draconian laws. The only beneficiaries of such cruel laws were those who used this cheap labor to enrich themselves. Eventually, these debtors were used to colonize the New World under indentured servant laws.

Just as debt in Europe became a criminal offense, drugs have become America's entrapment tool to enslave hundreds of thousands. Just like imprisoned debtors, American prisoners are finding these modern laws are leading to long periods of imprisonment, if not a lifetime. This bondage for profit, is hidden under the guise of CRIMINAL JUSTICE.

Correctional Slavery is probably the most insidious and cleverly disguised form of slavery ever visited upon a human population. Not because it's the most physically brutal form of slavery to ever exist, but rather because it masks itself under the guise of justice.

Before continuing, it may be helpful to first define the term "Correctional Slavery" and explain why I equate this form of incarceration with slavery. Correctional Slavery as defined here, is processing people into a criminal justice system for the express purpose of economic gain. This "gain" is derived from the pockets of hard working taxpayers who are manipulated into believing that incarceration is the only thing that separates them from the violent criminal hordes. These beliefs are reinforced by the media and popular culture.

you harm someone or their property. If, however, you are allergic to the legal drugs (for example alcohol or tobacco), or have some other aversion, to these drugs- yet you still crave to alter your state of consciousness and take an illicit drug, you face criminal liability. Why? Because you failed to use society's drugs of choice.

It has been estimated that in California, 60% to 75% of the prison population have drug related crime. In the Federal Prison System it is estimated that 60% of its population have been imprisoned for mere possession of drugs under mandatory sentencing laws -- without intent to sell. These drug laws are inherently discriminatory and make no practical sense, that is, unless you factor in the proposition that these laws create criminal activity where there otherwise would be none. In so doing, the laws create a criminal class as human fodder for the Criminal





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While everyone waits, a handful of officers head for the three wall flowers. A few nerve racking minutes later, the intercom announces, "CODE-4 FALSE ALARM, RETURN TO NORMAL PROGRAM." Prisoners start getting up, dusting off their blue denim pants and chambray shirts. That is, all except for the wall flowers. The rest of the prisoners return to their previous activities as if nothing happened, while slyly eyeing the officers surrounding the remaining three. The three are told to stand and are warned about not responding more quickly to alarms. Emphasizing their displeasure, the surrounding guards strip search the three in full view of the rest of the prisoners and guards.

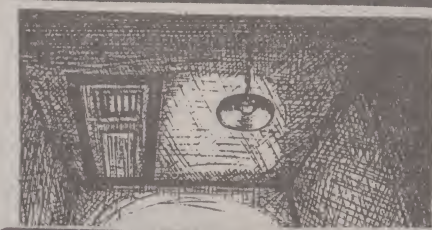
Although the strip searching guards are male, female guards are scattered about the yard. They, like the other prisoners and guards, witness the trio's humiliation as they are forced to get naked and endure the dreaded strip search. Even from the distance, I can hear the words: "Put out your arms; turn over your hands; raise your arms above your head; open your mouth and stick out your tongue; now pull down your bottom lip and show me your gums; now your top lip -open wider and roll your tongue around in your mouth; now run your hands through your hair (even though the three are black men with

be a bitch, to be in your sixties and have men and women the age of your grandchildren telling you to bend over and crack 'a smile. That's cold shit man; doing us like that. Like we ain't shit. Stripping us in front of those females, just like they did those brothers back in the slave days. It ain't right I tell you. It ain't right. We is slaves."

"You're right," I respond earnestly, "We are nothing but slaves, California Correctional Slaves."

THE CASE FOR CORRECTIONAL SLAVERY

For most Americans, the word slavery invokes dark and evil images of by-gone eras; disturbing images, of millions of chained Africans taken from their native lands and sold



into brutal lifetime bondage. However, if I were to suggest that in year 2000 slavery was still present and institutionalized in the United States of America, few would take me seriously. In fact, most would openly laugh at the idea. Despite this knee jerk reaction, I predict that after reading my article, any laughter will quickly disappear and I seriously doubt if those people will ever again find the

incentured servant laws.

Just as debt in Europe became a criminal offense, drugs have become America's entrapment tool to enslave hundreds of thousands. Just like imprisoned debtors, American prisoners are finding these modern laws are leading to long periods of imprisonment, if not a lifetime. This bondage for profit, is hidden under the guise of CRIMINAL JUSTICE.

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Currently our Criminal System is using its citizens' "criminal behavior" as reason to enslave them. Not just enslave them, but using sentencing-enhancement schemes, to enslave for increasingly longer periods of time.

The problem I address is basic and fundamental: at what point does the legitimate function of the Criminal Justice System end? And, at what point does the system begin to manufacture criminals for profit? For example, intentional acts that directly harm people or their property are clearly criminal acts. However conduct that does not, is not true criminal conduct. That is, conduct that offends moral values, even the majority's, should not be considered a crime. It's because our system has not made that distinction that it must be labeled a Correctional Slave System.

To be more precise, the drug laws, which are discriminatory by their very nature, allow some to be enslaved for engaging in the same conduct that others engage in legally. All drugs, whether licit or illicit are ingested by

it has been estimated that in California, 60% to 75% of the prison population have drug related crime. In the Federal Prison System it is estimated that 60% of its population have been imprisoned for mere possession of drugs under mandatory sentencing laws -- without intent to sell. These drug laws are inherently discriminatory and make no practical sense, that is, unless you factor in the proposition that these laws create criminal activity where there otherwise would be none. In so doing, the laws create a criminal class as human fodder for the Criminal



Justice System. This enriches the system, fueling its expansion.

This, I call SLAVERY!

According to a RAND study, entitled "Investing in Prisons or Prevention ... The State Policy Maker's Dilemma" (1998), statistical data shows that even though the crime rates have declined from their peak level in the 1980s and early 1990s, there are still continuing demands for harsher sentences and less reduction of time for good behavior. These demands, along with the stricter handling of parole violators, insure that prison populations will continue to grow. According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) figures, the number of prisoners in state and federal facilities increased another 5% (BJS), while the reported violent crime rate declined

Correctional Slave?

Abe (Sonny Zarif) Williams, Jr.
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nationwide by 8%. Peter W. Greenwood, the author of that study, has determined that twenty years ago prison costs represented only 1% or 2% of most state budgets. Now it is in the range of 8% to 10% and for the past five years represents the fastest-growing budget category.

It would be interesting to know the exact amount of money California spends on its entire "Criminal Justice System," including all criminal courts, all law enforcement agencies, jails, prisons, parole and probation departments. These numbers would also include all auxiliary costs, for example, the Department of Justice and Attorney General's Office budgets dealing with criminal matters; all salaries, equipment, training, construction and any other costs of all the above. The media will not publish this complete economic picture and I suspect the reason is that, if known, the public would find the cost prohibitive and rebel. If correctly tallied, the total cost of the criminal justice system would be closer to 1/4 to 1/3 of the entire state budget. I suspect that Media will not fully investigate and report on the true economic impact of California's or this country's war on crime, because crime is the media's cash cow. It would be no exaggeration to say television is the greatest promotional tool for the new slave system. If you doubt this, consider how many television

above 1.5 million (BJS 1996). Those numbers appear even more ominous when you consider that it took from this country's inception until 1990 to incarcerate a million people; however, ten years later, in the year 2000, the United States prison population had ballooned to over 2 million. It took only ten years to double a prison population that had taken over 200 years to accumulate.

In 1977 the inmate population of California prisons was 19,600. Today it's over 180,000 and rising, even though crime in California, like the nation's, has declined since the early 90's. The state has spent over 5.2 billion dollars in prison construction in the past fifteen years, making California not only the largest, but the most overcrowded prison system in the United States. The California Department of Corrections (CDC) has estimated it will need at least 6.1 billion dollars over the next decade to just maintain the current level of overcrowding. California's jails are just as overcrowded. ("The Prison Industrial Complex" by Schiossier, Atlantic Monthly, Dec.

day program in which they are required to work four hours a day, and attend either education, vocational or a combination of both the other four hours. The ex-offender would receive minimum wages for the work program and a modest grant for educational and vocational programs.

For offenders who need closer supervision, instead of direct release, there would be two year community based halfway houses. The offender would live in these halfway houses and required to attend the same type of programs. Income from their work would go to housing and expenses. They would also be required to save a portion of income for their eventual release.

Both categories of prisoners would sign Amnesty Contracts. This would allow them to avoid serving the balance of their sentences upon successful completion of this program. If they fail, they would be returned to prison. If they commit new crimes while in the program, their full sentence would be reinstated, plus time for the new offense; Such prisoners

citizens for drug use. Proposition 36 holds out a tiny glimmer of hope that California Correctional Slavery, in its present form, may be ending, or reducing the massive prison population.

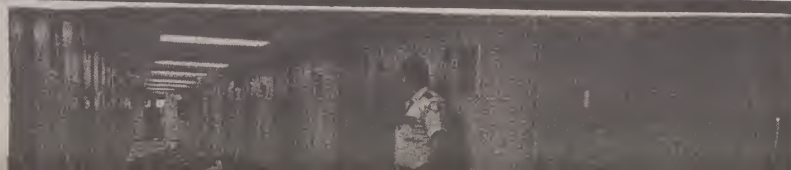
CORRECTIONAL TRAINING FACILITY-NORTH (SOLEDAD) -- 2000

It's December, midday and unseasonably warm, despite the start of winter. The CTF-North "A" Yard is teeming with inmates taking advantage of the summer like weather.

CTF-North consist of two almost identical yards. Each has two three tiered, rectangular buildings. Cell windows look out over the yards like hundreds of small eyes. Across from these buildings are huge dorms. Behind each dorm looms cyclone fences and a manned gun tower. Another gun tower is located between the yards. Others are spaced along the perimeter. Surrounding CTF-North are several tall fences crowned with spiraling razor wire: razor wire, whose spiked edges sparkle like glittering flesh eaters.

Small clumps of inmates circle the yard, while others sit or lay on the grass. Other inmates work out on pull-up bars. Across from the pull-up bars 18 yard phones are in use. A long line of inmates patiently await their turn.

A group of lifers sits on the worn wooden bleachers over looking the baseball diamond.



is in the range of 8% to 10% for the past five years represents the fastest-growing budget category.

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In discussing Correctional Slavery, it is necessary to examine the so called "Criminal Justice System" (which should be simply called the Criminal System), and examine its three major components: (1) Law Enforcement; (2) The Judicial System; and (3) the Prison and Correctional System, along with its recycling arms- the Parole and Probation Departments. I prefer to call these three components the: (1) "Entrapment and Capturing System," (2) the "Processing and Justification System," and (3) the "Bondage and Warehousing System."

Examining how these three system's work will demonstrate why I have come to the conclusions I have. This examination will revolve around the California Correctional System, which I refer to as a "World Class Slave System". and is probably the most insidious in the United States. Remember, each state has its own penal system, as does the federal government.

ten years later, in the year 2000, the United States prison population had ballooned to over 2 million. It took only ten years to double a prison population that had taken over 200 years to accumulate.

In 1977 the inmate population of California prisons was 19,600. Today it's over 180,000 and rising, even though crime in California, like the nation's, has declined since the early 90's. The state has spent over 5.2 billion dollars in prison construction in the past fifteen years, making California not only the largest, but the most overcrowded prison system in the United States. The California Department of Corrections (CDC) has estimated it will need at least 6.1 billion dollars over the next decade to just maintain the current level of overcrowding. California's jails are just as overcrowded. ("The Prison Industrial Complex" by Schiossier, Atlantic Monthly, Dec.



1988) According to that 1988 study, roughly two thirds of the prison inmates are parole violators. Of those 80,000 returning parole violators, 60,000 committed only technical violations not involving new crimes. For example, violations like failing to notify one's parole officer of a change of job or address. I don't believe that everyone involved with the Criminal System either thinks in terms of enslaving people for profit or incarcerating for maximum terms, though some clearly do. I said at the beginning of this article, the slave system is deviously and cleverly disguised within the legitimate System. Not surprisingly, many of the Correctional Slaves would be just as surprised by this description of their plight, as are those who incarcerate and

receive minimum wages for the work program and a modest grant for educational and vocational programs.

For offenders who need closer supervision, instead of direct release, there would be two year community based halfway houses. The offender would live in these halfway houses and required to attend the same type of programs. Income from their work would go to housing and expenses. They would also be required to save a portion of income for their eventual release.

Both categories of prisoners would sign Amnesty Contracts. This would allow them to avoid serving the balance of their sentences upon successful completion of this program. If they fail, they would be returned to prison. If they commit new crimes while in the program, their full sentence would be reinstated, plus time for the new offense; Such prisoners

would be ineligible for the Amnesty program in the future.

To avoid labor complaints, the ex-offenders would work on community based projects and environmental cleanups.

REALISTIC SOLUTION #2 DRUG DECRIMINALIZATION:

Along with instituting the Amnesty program, both state and federal governments should eliminate criminal drug laws. Churches and all God fearing people should rise up and demand our government get out of the business of enslaving people based on what drug they use. It is a national disgrace that our society enslaves some for doing the same thing that others do legally with a different, but often more dangerous drug.

CORRECTIONAL TRAINING FACILITY-NORTH (SOLEDAD) -- 2000

It's December, midday and unseasonably warm, despite the start of winter. The CTF-North "A" Yard is teeming with inmates taking advantage of the summer like weather.

CTF-North consist of two almost identical yards. Each has two three tiered, rectangular buildings. Cell windows look out over the yards like hundreds of small eyes. Across from these buildings are huge dorms. Behind each dorm looms cyclone fences and a manned gun tower. Another gun tower is located between the yards. Others are spaced along the perimeter. Surrounding CTF-North are several tall fences crowned with spiraling razor wire: razor wire, whose spiked edges sparkle like glittering flesh eaters.

Small clumps of inmates circle the yard, while others sit or lay on the grass. Other inmates work out on pull-up bars. Across from the pull-up bars 18 yard phones are in use. A long line of inmates patiently await their turn.

A group of lifers sits on the worn wooden bleachers over looking the baseball diamond. They are discussing recent court cases involving lifers and the Governor's no parole policy.

Despite the Sun's warmth, I feel a sudden chill as the discussion turns bitter.

"I was sentenced to 7 years to life," says one man. "Yet, I've been down 30 years. I had a date and they took it for no reason. I should've paroled 15 years ago."

"What about me," says another. "I got 15 years to life, and was eligible for parole after ten years. I've served 23 years."

"What do you think the courts will do," someone asked?

"The same thing they always do," came a voice from the back of the bleachers. "Nothing!"

"What do you think they will do Sonny?"

Everyone knew I had a paralegal degree and knew I had a reputation as a pretty good jail house lawyer. Therefore, when it came to the law, my words carried weight.

Expectant eyes turned to me. These were eyes looking for reassurance. Perhaps, they wanted to hear a comfortable lie: the comfortable, feel better- even though it's a lie-kind.

I wish I could have obliged them, but I couldn't. I thought of the past two, and now the current Governor. All who briefly visited

give the definite impression that it's the "good guys" versus the "bad guys". This non-subtle propaganda is mind manipulation. Such shows have skyrocketed in numbers, even though crime has plummeted over the past decade.


In discussing Correctional Slavery, it is necessary to examine the so called "Criminal Justice System" (which should be simply called the Criminal System), and examine its three major components: (1) Law Enforcement: (2) The Judicial System: and (3) the Prison and Correctional System, along with its recycling arms- the Parole and Probation Departments. I prefer to call these three components the: (1) "Entrapment and Capturing System," (2) the "Processing and Justification System," and (3) the "Bondage and Warehousing System."

Examining how these three system's work will demonstrate why I have come to the conclusions I have. This examination will revolve around the California Correctional System, which I refer to as a "World Class Slave System". and is probably the most insidious in the United States. Remember, each state has its own penal system, as does the federal government; all share the same basic goals and many of the same components. Therefore, a careful look at California's Criminal Justice System will serve as a general review of them all.

THE PRISON AND CORRECTIONAL SYSTEMS: BONDAGE AND WAREHOUSING

Even though the national crime rate and rate of violent crime have declined since 1991, there is still the cry for more and longer incarceration, despite clear evidence that prisons do not work. Studies show the states with the highest budgets for law enforcement, courts, prisons, parole and probation departments also have the highest crime rates. It is clear, if you increasingly create criminal statutes, and build more prisons, you will inevitably find bodies to fill them. Christopher Stone, the head of New York's Vera Institute of Justice, believes that prisons can be "factories of crime".

The 1998 RAND study cited earlier, concluded that in 1985, the number of inmates held in state and federal prisons was less than 750, 000. By 1995, that number had risen



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Despite the victims', perpetrators' and unwitting employees' lack of knowledge, the fact remains, the System itself has taken on

Television is the greatest promotional tool for the new slave system.

the mantle of "Evil". Ignorance, like ignorance of the law, is no excuse, nor does ignorance absolve the guilty of crimes against humanity.

REALISTIC SOLUTION #1: AMNESTY AND DRUG DECRIMINALIZATION

AMNESTY: Fully 60 to 75 percent of both state and federal prison populations can be rehabilitated and rehoused at half to one-third of the present cost. This can be done by creating community based programs in which many prisoners are returned home and placed in work, education and vocational programs. Prisoners would be enrolled in an eight hour a

would be ineligible for the Amnesty program in the future.

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REALISTIC SOLUTION #2 DRUG DECRIMINALIZATION:

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On November 7, 2000, the citizens of California passed Proposition 36, allowing first and second time minor drug offenders to receive drug treatment rather than jail or prison. Don Novey of CCPOA had fought to defeat Proposition 36, hoping to keep this class of drug offenders within the California Department of Corrections. Their defeat bodes well for those enslaved because of their drug preference. It is to be hoped, that America is waking up to the reality of the Government's failed "War on Drugs"; as well as its barbaric practice of enslaving its

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I wish I could have obliged them, but I couldn't. I thought of the past two, and now the current Governor. All, who briefly flirted with presidential and national aspirations. All, who collectively whittled lifers' parole down to a mockery. Current Governor Gray Davis, despite protests, refused to parole any lifers during his first year in office. Only grudgingly did he release a few in his second year. These releases came only after a constant bombardment of bad press.

I took a deep breath and looked into all those soul weary eyes, and said, "We're slaves, California Correctional Slaves. They're not going to give up their slaves easily."

I turned away from disappointed eyes, lowered heads and drooping shoulders. I turned from eyes, sinking into oceans of misery and self pity; eyes, caught in nightmarish Correctional Quicksand.

I looked toward the distant mountains and the descending Sun. I could no longer feel its warmth. My soul felt cold, my heart heavy -- weary. Not even thoughts of Christmas, which was only a few days away, could lift my spirits.

I wondered (like all the others) was I doomed to die a Correctional Slave?

TWISTING HISTORY

depend on agriculture for their livelihood. When the refugees return to their land, they can pursue their traditional agricultural pursuits, and no doubt this will take up the slack in GDP. More importantly, peace will be a real possibility."

The late Israel Shahak, an Israeli Holocaust survivor who spent his childhood in a concentration camp, has written extensively on Zionism and Israel. He notes that: "The main danger which Israel, as 'Jewish state,' poses to its own people, to other Jews and its neighbors, is its ideologically motivated pursuit of territorial expansion and the inevitable series of wars resulting from this aim."

Many believe that irreconcilable religious differences between Jews and Muslims are the root of the problems in Palestine. In my travels to Palestine I have met many elderly Palestinian refugees who told of the Jewish neighbors they had before they were expelled from their land. Sometimes these elders would weep at the memory of their old friends, their land and previous life. The Palestinian elders said that since the Nakba (the 1948 expulsion by Israeli forces), the only Jews they see are soldiers who beat and humiliate them. I have personally experienced a range of responses from Palestinians to my being a Jew; ranging from the enthusiastic emotional responses mentioned above to a complete nonplussed response, as the only thing that truly matters is if one is against the occupation or not.

In summary, I whole heartedly agree with Dr. Abu Sitta when he states: "In practical terms, it is entirely feasible to plan the return in such a way and in such phases that the Jewish residents will not feel any effect, except the pleasant feeling that a true peace is a reality at last."

Something

out

of

Nothing

from Page NINE

barbed wire that surrounded the refugee camps. The refugee camps have existed for a long 55 years and people have attempted to create as normal a life as possible. The camps are now towns, the tents replaced by cinder block houses, the sanitation facilities improved from an inadequate number of outhouses, etc.

The mural includes an olive tree, a very important symbol. Many people wear olive tree necklaces. They are a symbol of home and the land. As olive trees take so long to mature, they are a potent sign that Palestinians have been cultivating the land for a long time. The olive tree provides sustenance and many Palestinians made their living from olive trees, that is, before the Israelis destroyed 200,000 olive trees. I was reminded how when I was in elementary school in the 1960's, we collected money to send to Israel to plant fir trees. We were told that there were no people there before Israel, maybe just a few nomads wandering around in the desert. I remember how I felt when I realized that those stories were very far from the truth, and that the trees were being planted on land that had been very much lived on.

On each landing of the stairwell is a 15-foot window around which we painted large stones like the ones Palestinian buildings are built of. On each stone is written the name of a Palestinian village or town that was destroyed. Everyone who came to the Ibdac center looked for the stone that had the name of his or her village written on it.

The mural depicts the resistance of the first and second (current) Uprising. The spark for the current Uprising, now in its 15th month, with 805 Palestinians and 239 Israelis killed, was General Ariel Sharon's visit to Jerusalem's Al-Aqsa Mosque, on the sacred day of Friday accompanied by a thousand soldiers. This was the last humiliating straw as conditions for the Palestinians had only become worse since the 1991 Oslo 'Peace' Accords.

There is a wall that honors those who have died in the Intifadas or Uprisings. It depicts a young man from Dheisheh camp who was assassinated by the Israelis. He was a popular youth and people came from all around to see his portrait, including his family members. Underneath the portrait are many lit candles that represent the others who have died. People said that those who have fallen light the way and the memories help those who are alive to not give up.

The hopes and dreams for the future are expressed by dancers from Ibdac dance group dancing on the tops of the buildings of Dheisheh Camp. An old man holding an infant up to the sun — to the future and freedom follows this image.

Next to the sun is a poem by JoJo White in English and Arabic. In 1996, 23-year-old JoJo White was shot to death in cold blood. His parents helped to fund the BTS mural project as part of the JoJo White Solidarity Project, which helps to fund peace and justice programs. JoJo wrote this poem when he was 11 years old.

Peace

If I could change the world
I'd dismantle all the bombs
If I could change the world
I would feed all the hungry
If I could change the world
I would shelter all the homeless
If I could change the world
I would make all people free
I cannot dismantle all the bombs
I cannot feed all the hungry
I cannot shelter all the homeless
I cannot make all people free
I cannot because there is only One of me.
When I have grown and I am Strong
I will find many more of me.
We will dismantle all the bombs
We will feed the hungry
We will shelter all the homeless
We will make all the people Free.
We will change the world

Me and my friends All together, together At last
The last image in the mural is a six foot keyhole, through which can be seen a beautiful landscape — the land of Palestine.

The Break the Silence Mural Project is developing new projects. We are available for slide presentations and discussions about our experiences producing public art in Palestine under the Israeli occupation. We have a video about murals BTS painted with Palestinians during the first Intifada, in 1989, available for purchase. Our website is under construction: www.breakthesilencemuralproject.org Or we can be reached: Breakthesilence@yahoo.com

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described an alternative option — this momentum is in danger of dying, if it hasn't died already.

But the point of this little article isn't just to endlessly depress everyone. The point is that now is a crucial time to put forward an anti-authoritarian political option — an alternative vision of society and of the future — to counteract the vast post 9-11 take-backs. Somehow, we need to go beyond the tired, comfortable but ineffective "reactive" politics we're used to, and describe as accurately as possible *what we really want*.

The September 11 attack was a huge shock to the entire system, as if all the pieces in the social game were suddenly hurled into the air. Now they're falling back to earth.

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should be able to control the lives of others. The most widely felt exercises of power and domination aren't dramatic events like the destruction of the World Trade Center or the carpet bombing of Afghanistan — they're everyday occurrences like the cutting of forests, over fishing, pollution of water and air ... comprehensively creating an SUV-drive-to-the-mall-consume-watch-TV-obey-die world.

The most amazing result of the 9-11 attack has been the wholesale retreat of fundamental critiques of power. In the face of violence like

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DISRUPTION
...

FROM PAGE
ONE

But to get across the anti-authoritarian alternative requires some kind of action in the real world, not just ideas, especially where purveyors of the establishment option have vast propaganda resources (the mainstream media) at their disposal. The only way to fight the ideological hegemony of the system is to actively disrupt that system and thereby shatter its version of reality — that everything is "okay." Shattering popular understanding of reality opens the way for alternatives and critical thought.

In the post 9-11 environment, there is no excuse whatsoever to retreat from militancy, urgency and action, but simultaneously there is every reason to be smart about the kind of militancy we employ. What is called for is *disruption with a smile* — figuring out the

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The so-called anti-globalization movement was getting closer to articulating something positive — something like a vision — before September 11. Such a vision was *implicit* in the critique promoted by the anti-globalization movement, but the movement's failure to make its vision *explicit* was becoming more and more

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The September 11 attack was a huge shock to the entire system, as if all the pieces in the social game were suddenly hurled into the air. Now they're falling back to earth. Authoritarians have seized on the disruption to put the pieces back the way they want them. But these kinds of shocks are times when huge social change in many directions is possible. If there's only one option presented, like over the past four months, the social change coming out of 9-11 will all be towards more authority, stronger power and more hierarchy. Its crucial that in the moment of shock and change, anti-authoritarians are present to paint another picture of what the world could look like.

In the post 9-11 world, we find ourselves caught between, on the one hand, religious fanatics bent on killing at random, using whatever blunt instruments are available, and on the other hand, carefully calculating fanatics of a different sort who kill systematically, in the quasi-religious pursuit of power and money. Both of these hands, *seemingly* diametrically opposed, function in tandem to squeeze out the alternative to either type of fanaticism: that of *life and freedom from domination*.

What the Taliban, Al Qaeda, the Bush Administration, the WTO and a long list of others have in common is their belief that they

should be able to control the lives of others. The most widely felt exercises of power and domination aren't dramatic events like the destruction of the World Trade Center or the carpet bombing of Afghanistan — they're everyday occurrences like the cutting of forests, over fishing, pollution of water and air ... comprehensively creating an SUV-drive-to-the-mall-consume-watch-TV-obey-die world.

The most amazing result of the 9-11 attack has been the wholesale retreat of fundamental critiques of power. In the face of violence like the destruction of the WTC, its easy for the media to convince folks to embrace "security" and "safety", which they claim is provided by huge government organizations, the police and the military. Its up to us to point out that these institutions of power offer precisely the same menu offered by "terrorists" — violence and the concentration of power based on might that is then exercised to dominate everyone in society.

The alternative is trust and cooperation — people doing things for each other voluntarily, not because they're forced by the government, a corporation, the market, or even a terrorist. In times of fear and danger, the alternative is to get together with community to protect *ourselves*, rather than looking to an authoritarian state to take care of our problems for us. The alternative must make clear the similarities between fanatical religious fundamentalism that denies freedom, and fanatical market based fundamentalism, that similarly denies freedom. The alternative

is a social system organized around people, the earth, freedom and happiness, not one organized to serve machines and accumulation.

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The so-called anti-globalization movement was getting closer to articulating something positive — something like a vision — before September 11. Such a vision was *implicit* in the critique promoted by the anti-globalization movement, but the movement's failure to make its vision *explicit* was becoming more and more of a liability. It was easy to misunderstand the movement as just a vegetable soup of single issue causes that could be addressed piecemeal with the traditional, liberal solutions. If there's a problem with sweatshops or turtles, or whatever, the official response can just be to tinker with the economic system to address these narrow concerns while ensuring that the underlying capitalist order is maintained. Only if critique of the *whole order* is articulated can liberal cooption be avoided. Many within the movement itself misunderstood its potential, anxiously hoping the government would buy them off.

To the extent it was becoming increasingly important for the anti-globalization movement to realize that only a comprehensive critique/vision could be effective in taking the movement to the next step, the September 11 attacks *require* articulating these alternatives — moving to the next level — now, or damn soon. The post 9-11 political vacuum of alternatives is deafening. The importance of spending time and energy developing political thought, vision and alternatives — not just visually arresting actions — cannot be underestimated.

But to get across the anti-authoritarian alternative requires some kind of action in the real world, not just ideas, especially where purveyors of the establishment option have vast propaganda resources (the mainstream media) at their disposal. The only way to fight the ideological hegemony of the system is to actively disrupt that system and thereby shatter its version of reality — that everything is "okay." Shattering popular understanding of reality opens the way for alternatives and critical thought.

In the post 9-11 environment, there is no excuse whatsoever to retreat from militancy, urgency and action, but simultaneously there is every reason to be smart about the kind of militancy we employ. What is called for is *disruption with a smile* — figuring out the most disruptive options available which bare the least resemblance possible to violence against people. Violence against people justifies state repression and doesn't advance an alternative to power and coercion. While disruption with a smile will often be met with violent state repression, if the disruption is done right, that state repression will appear to *lack justification* and will end up hurting the state's ideological and political control.

There are numerous options available for smiling disruptive actions. In general, actions which are celebratory can be disruptive and effective. In Ottawa, snake dancers shut down the business district. Reclaim the Streets street parties can tie up business as usual, permitting instructive cultural/political confrontations — dancers vs. lines of solemn cops. Another idea is building the future society within the old. How about community gardens and free schools down the middle of Wall Street?

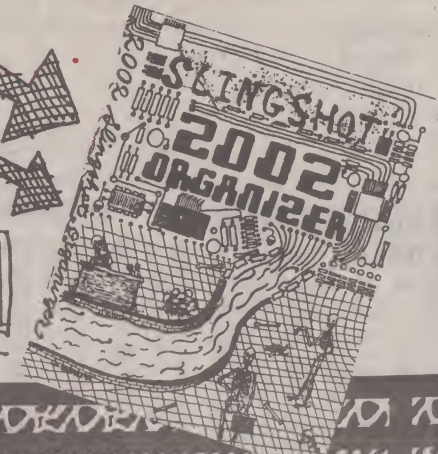
The capitalist/corporate/industrial system is attacking the earth and its people on daily basis. Time is running out. Its time to do something.

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—\$5 for one—
—\$16 for four—
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3124 Shattuck ave Berkeley CA 94705



from page one...

NEW NORMALCY...

wasn't until November of 2000 that the broad power of these dangerous allies became official in the form of the Portland Joint Terrorism Task Force (PJTTF).

Joint Terrorism Task Forces have been utilized in other US cities dating back to the late Seventies in NYC. The New York JTTF was established to combat a rash of bank robberies in the city, hardly the stuff of a domestic terrorist threat to the US government. Since the early days of JTTF's, over 30 cities have taken on these allegiances between federal and local law enforcement agencies. Attorney General Ashcroft has now ordered the formation of JTTFs in every federal prosecutor's territory.

The typical make-up of JTTF's is comprised of a half dozen or so local law enforcement officers with an equal number of federal agents from the corresponding area branch. Indeed, the JTTF is nothing more than a training ground for officers to be deputized as federal agents, further blurring the line of exactly who is accountable for what and to whom.

As its primary mission statement, the PJTTF, vowed to "identify and target for prosecution those individuals or groups who are responsible for acts of criminal terrorism

have become one of the chief pillars of the FBI's typical political investigation. These acts of harassment lend credibility to the notion that the FBI are close to cracking open the cells of ELF, when in actuality they have rarely ever convicted anyone even indirectly involved in acts of eco-sabotage.

After completion of the raid Rosebraugh was issued his seventh grand jury subpoena since 1997, this one in regards to a non-ELF arson of an SUV dealership in nearby Eugene. When asked to comment on the latest interrogation Rosebraugh said: "This is nothing more than another attempt by the thugs of the state and federal government to stop the legal work of the North American ELF press office." He went on to say that "These random items which were seized have no connection to any crimes and this is quite obviously just another form of harassment by the state."

Although Rosebraugh has garnered major independent and mainstream media coverage in the past few years, he is but a single victim in a sustained, highly sophisticated war of heavy-handed tactics that the PPD and their federal allies have initiated to dismantle the radical community in Portland. An anonymous anarchist and former resident of Portland recently told

Three individuals were arrested at the scene and charged with assault and riot, both felonies. Later they were released on their own recognizance and ordered to appear for a court date the following Monday afternoon. At the hearing, the three were re-arrested and all of their supporters were forced to leave the courtroom. In addition to the two felonies, the three were charged with kidnapping at the hearing. Months later one had all of the charges dropped after a private detective was hired. The other two individuals ended up doing month long stints in a work camp after they plead guilty to reduced charges.

In the time following the raid, widespread community condemnation of the PJTTF began to mount and it appeared that the fall review and proposal for renewal for the ordinance would be defeated. Before the hearing, however, the September 11 attacks squashed any hopes for de-escalation of federal or local police department activist harassment.

Since that time cities small and great have been whipped into a state of panic by the US government with warnings of a "new, different kind of war, where terror can and will strike without warning". With the formal endorsement of joint terrorism task forces by attorney general Ashcroft and passage of the Anti-Terrorism Act, the experience in Portland may be just the beginning.

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Joint Terrorism Task Forces have been utilized in other US cities dating back to the late Seventies in NYC. The New York JTTF was established to combat a rash of bank robberies in the city, hardly the stuff of a domestic terrorist threat to the US government. Since the early days of JTTF's, over 30 cities have taken on these allegiances between federal and local law enforcement agencies. Attorney General Ashcroft has now ordered the formation of JTTFs in every federal prosecutor's territory.

The typical make-up of JTTF's is comprised of a half dozen or so local law enforcement officers with an equal number of federal agents from the corresponding area branch. Indeed, the JTTF is nothing more than a training ground for officers to be deputized as federal agents, further blurring the line of exactly who is accountable for what and to whom.

As its primary mission statement, the PJTTF, vowed to "identify and target for prosecution those individuals or groups who are responsible for acts of criminal terrorism within the traditional criteria of the Right or Left Wing movements, as well as acts of criminal terrorism committed by special interest groups, such as the anti-abortion movement and the ALF/ELF. The PJTTF will enhance the effectiveness of federal, state, local law enforcement resources through a well coordinated initiative seeking the most effective investigative avenues by which to convict offenders."

As is clearly evident in the loose language and structure of the mission statement, the PJTTF obviously doesn't want the public to have any inkling of what they truly determine to be classified as terrorism. Obviously, large pockets of the populace in the Northwest are well informed about the existence of the Earth Liberation Front in the region. The FBI would love to have everyone believe that members of these underground organizations are "violent extremists hell bent on the destruction of all that we hold sacred in this country." But when you start to read between the lines and sift through the mountains of misinformation the police channel through their allies running the major media outlets, you begin to uncover the true aim and goals of these partners in crime.

In April of 2001, Craig Rosebraugh, then the national spokesperson for the ELF and a

of harassment lend credibility to the notion that the FBI are close to cracking open the cells of ELF, when in actuality they have rarely ever convicted anyone even indirectly involved in acts of eco-sabotage.

After completion of the raid Rosebraugh was issued his seventh grand jury subpoena since 1997, this one in regards to a non-ELF arson of an SUV dealership in nearby Eugene. When asked to comment on the latest interrogation Rosebraugh said: "This is nothing more than another attempt by the thugs of the state and federal government to stop the legal work of the North American ELF press office." He went on to say that "These random items which were seized have no connection to any crimes and this is quite obviously just another form of harassment by the state."

Although Rosebraugh has garnered major independent and mainstream media coverage in the past few years, he is but a single victim in a sustained, highly sophisticated war of heavy-handed tactics that the PPD and their federal allies have initiated to dismantle the radical community in Portland. An anonymous anarchist and former resident of Portland recently told me of a continuous flurry of supposedly random pullovers at the hands of the PPD. During these encounters local anarchists and community activists would be questioned on the state of their involvement in various organizations and given extreme tickets on largely fabricated vehicular and bicycle infractions.

The Portland crackdown coincided with the heightened state of fear in the region in the period between the June 18, 1999 street riots in neighboring Eugene and that fall's massive shutdown of the WTO meetings in Seattle, three hours to the north. In both cases anarchists from Portland were identified as instigators. Things became so hot in the wake of these two events that it became common for local activists to be pulled aside at demos by police who knew their name, their affiliation with various groups and their residencies by heart.

On the evening of March 29th, 2001 this building anti-anarchist witchhunt reached a pinnacle as a private party in a northeast Portland house was raided by 43 police cars who responded to a state of emergency call issued by the first cops to arrive on the scene. The original complaint was that of a reported noise complaint. Not more than two minutes

court date the following Monday afternoon. At the hearing, the three were re-arrested and all of their supporters were forced to leave the courtroom. In addition to the two felonies, the three were charged with kidnapping at the hearing. Months later one had all of the charges dropped after a private detective was hired. The other two individuals ended up doing month long stints in a work camp after they plead guilty to reduced charges.

In the time following the raid, widespread community condemnation of the PJTTF began to mount and it appeared that the fall review and proposal for renewal for the ordinance would be defeated. Before the hearing, however, the September 11 attacks squashed any hopes for de-escalation of federal or local police department activist harassment.

Since that time cities small and great have been whipped into a state of panic by the US government with warnings of a "new, different kind of war, where terror can and will strike without warning". With the formal endorsement of joint terrorism task forces by attorney general Ashcroft and passage of the Anti-Terrorism Act, the experience in Portland may be just the beginning.

Steve Sherlag, a Portland lawyer who has testified against the PJTTF fears the worst. "There has been a movement to label people who question the military response as un-American". People who are protesting the US government's approach "can expect that they're going to be investigated by the FBI and the Portland Police Bureau's JTTF". Dan Handelman, a member of the Portland chapter of the national police accountability group, Copwatch, echoes Sherlag's sentiments. "Regardless of whether there is real terrorism or not, a task force that has such an ill-defined mission, and which keeps information secret from society, is a danger to civil rights".

With the ramifications of September 11th, being felt globally, nations from all political leanings are rushing to pass highly restrictive new laws. In Canada the always flimsy definition of what constitutes terrorism mentions threats against property in the same breath as those against human lives. In the war torn country of Columbia the executive branch is passing new legislation that enables the government to detain anyone who is suspected of terrorist activity without first obtaining incriminating evidence. And the beat goes on in Britain and India and Jamaica and...

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In April of 2001, Craig Rosebraugh, then the national spokesperson for the ELF and a Portland resident, faced an all-too-familiar scenario as he was stopped on a "routine traffic violation" and detained for 30 minutes while the FBI had time to prepare search warrants for Rosebraugh's residency and business, the Calendula Baking Company. All told Rosebraugh's home with fellow environmental activists Leslie James Pickering and Elaine Close was searched for six hours while a simultaneous four hour search was being carried out at the bakery. Upon leaving the bakery and the home, agents seized hundreds of items of property including computer equipment, phone lists, videos, literature and other items. High profile arrests and seizures attached to prominent above ground activists such as Rosebraugh

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On the evening of March 29th, 2001 this building anti-anarchist witchhunt reached a pinnacle as a private party in a northeast Portland house was raided by 43 police cars who responded to a state of emergency call issued by the first cops to arrive on the scene. The original complaint was that of a reported noise complaint. Not more than two minutes after the cop was assured that the noise would be contained, cruisers began pouring into the area with sirens blazing, completely surrounding the house and blocking off streets in several directions in the immediate area of the party.

Accounts of the confrontation by activists and police are contrary. Police claimed that an officer was trapped inside of the house and was physically detained and beaten by several attendants of the party, all of whom just happened to be members of the local activist community and punk rock subculture. From the moment the squads began encircling the house, police brutality reigned upon the crowd. Pepper Spray was used and scores of individuals were questioned and photographed.

There has been a movement to label people who question the military response as un-American". People who are protesting the US government's approach "can expect that they're going to be investigated by the FBI and the Portland Police Bureau's JTTF". Dan Handelman, a member of the Portland chapter of the national police accountability group, Copwatch, echoes Sherlag's sentiments, "Regardless of whether there is real terrorism or not, a task force that has such an ill-defined mission, and which keeps information secret from society, is a danger to civil rights".

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Here in the US, increasing use of terrorist laws to attack domestic radicals appears likely. With the lines between federal and local law enforcement being distorted with the proliferation of the JTTF phenomena, federal power is dramatically enhanced. With the new license for political surveillance, we must assume that every time you speak in opposition to the blood on the hands of the US government, they are listening. Every time you question the integrity of our great president, they are watching. Every time you receive *Slingshot* in the mail, they are keeping track of you.

To fight the descent into a security state justified by a perpetual war on terrorists, we have to understand what we're up against and organize to smash it.

The author, Greg Wells, can be reached at: PO Box 5021 Richmond, VA. 23220

ACTION CALENDAR

Long Haul Infoshop Radical Library

Radical Reading room • Lending Library • Archive • Radical Resource Center • Book & Zine Shop

Open Mon - Thurs, 6-9 • Sun 3-9

Sunday: Vegan Dinner @ 7:30
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February

Tuesday February 12

National Day of Action Against State Repression. Solidarity actions in support of Craig Rosebraugh, former spokesperson for the Earth Liberation Front. www.protectcivilliberties.com 503.972.6714

Tuesday February 12

Berkeley Mardi Gras Celebration: Sunrise Mouth of Derby Creek - Frontage & Powell St; 9:00 AM Point Emory - Frontage & Ashby; 2:00 PM Peoples Park - Dwight & Bowdich; 4:00 PM Farmers Market - Derby & Milvia

Friday February 15 • 8:30 PM

Arise... monthly conscious hip-hop and open-mic, benefit for Revolutionary Anti-authoritarians of Color 379 40th Street (near Broadway) Oakland CA phone #: 510.625.1504 www.passionbomb.com/arise

Friday February 22 • 6 pm

SF Critical Mass bike ride Justin Herman Plaza

March

Friday, March 1 • 6 pm

Sacramento Critical Mass bike ride State Capitol building

Saturday March 2 • 12 am ~ 4 pm

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Friday, March 8 • 6 pm

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420 on 4/20! Salary Break-Light one up! at People's Park Berkeley Haste above Telegraph.

Sunday April 28 • Noon ~ 6

People's Park 33d Anniversary party / concert at People's Park Berkeley Haste above Telegraph

May

April 26 ~ May 1

Mayday autonomous festivals of resistance (see pg 11) mayday@linefeed.org, 415.820.9658

Wednesday May 1-5

Festival del Pueblo, Boston. Anarchist soccer, concerts, debates, bookfair, direct actions. www.festivaldelpueblo.org

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Panel Discussion about Ashcroft and his attack on civil liberties / update on the Bari vs FBI trial

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Protest 12th anniversary of the car bombing of Judi Bari & Darryl Cherney, Oakland Federal Court house, 12th & Clay

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